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QUEEN ELIZABETH SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF MARY STUART

NEW STANDARD EDITION

THE WORLD'S GREAT EVENTS

AN INDEXED HISTORY OF THE WORLD FROM EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY

GREAT HISTORIANS

EDITED BY

ESTHER SINGLETON

EDITOR OF "THE STORY OF THE UNIVERSE," "TURRETS, TOWERS AND TEMPLES," "ROMANTIC CASTLES AND PALACES," "WONDERS OF NATURE," ETC.

ILLUSTRATED

VOLUME FOUR

FROM A. D. 1493 TO A. D. 1648

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CHARLES VIII. INVADES ITALY

(A.D. 1494)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

WHILE Italy had lost a part of the advantages which, in the preceding century, had constituted her security, the transalpine nations had suddenly acquired a power which destroyed the ancient equilibrium. Up to the close of the Fifteenth Century, wars were much fewer between nation and nation than between French, Germans, or Spaniards among themselves. Even the war between the English and the French, which desolated France for more than a century, sprang not from enmity between two rival nations, but from the circumstance that the kings of England were French princes, hereditary sovereigns of Normandy, Poitou, and Guienne. Charles VII. at last forced the English back beyond sea, and reunited to the monarchy provinces which had been detached from it for centuries. Louis XI. vanquished the dukes and peers of France who had disputed his authority; he humbled the house of Burgundy, which had begun to have

Nature of medieval wars.

Louis XI. humbles Burgundy.

interests foreign to France. His young successor and son, Charles VIII., on coming of age, found himself the master of a vast kingdom in a state of complete obedience, a brilliant army, and large revenues; but was weak enough to think that there was no glory to be obtained unless in distant and chivalrous expeditions. The different monarchies of Spain, which had long been rivals, were united by the marriage of Ferdinand of Aragon with Isabella of Castile, and by the conquest which they jointly made of the Moorish kingdom of Granada. Spain, forming for the first time one great power, began to exercise an influence which she had never till then claimed. The Emperor Maximilian, after having united the Low Countries and the County of Burgundy, his wife's inheritance, to the states of Austria, which he inherited from his father, asserted his right to exercise over the whole of Germany the imperial authority which had escaped from the hands of his predecessors. Lastly, the Swiss, rendered illustrious by their victories over Charles the Bold, had begun, but since his death only, to make a traffic of their lives, and enter the service of foreign nations. At the same time, the empire of the Turks extended along the whole shore of the Adriatic, and menaced at once Venice and the kingdom of Naples. Italy was surrounded on all sides by powers which had suddenly become gigantic, and of which not

Charles VIII. master of a vast kingdom.

Rise of Spain's power.

The Turkish Empire.

one had, half a century before, given her uneasiness.

France was the first to carry abroad an activity unemployed at home, and to make Italy feel the change which had taken place in the politics of Europe. Its King, Charles VIII., claimed the inheritance of all the rights of the second house of Anjou on the kingdom of Naples. Those rights, founded on the adoption of Louis I. of Anjou by Joan I., had never been acknowledged by the people, or confirmed by possession. For the space of a hundred and ten years, Louis I., II., and III., and Réné, the brother of the last, made frequent but unsuccessful attempts to mount the throne of Naples. The brother and the daughter of Réné, Charles of Maine and Margaret of Anjou, at last either ceded or sold those rights to Louis XI. His son, Charles VIII., as soon as he was of age, determined on asserting them. Eager for glory, in proportion as his weak frame, and still weaker intellect, incapacitated him for acquiring it, he, at the age of twenty-four, resolved on treading in the footsteps of Charlemagne and his paladins; and undertook the conquest of Naples as the first exploit that was to lead to the conquest of Constantinople and the deliverance of the holy sepulchre.

Rights of Charles VIII.

Charles VIII. entered Italy in the month of August, 1494, with 3,600 men-at-arms or heavy cavalry; 20,000 infantry, Gascons, Bretons,

He resolves to conquer Naples.

and French; 8,000 Swiss, and a formidable train of artillery. This last arm had received in France, during the wars of Charles VII., a degree of perfection yet unknown to the rest of Europe. The states of Upper Italy were favorable to the expedition of the French. The Duchess of Savoy and the Marchioness of Montferrat, regents for their sons, who were under age, opened the passage of the Alps to Charles VIII. Ludovic the Moor, regent of the Duchy of Milan, recently alarmed at the demand made on him by the King of Naples, to give up the regency to his nephew Gian Galeazzo, then of full age, and married to a Neapolitan princess, had himself called the French into Italy; and, to facilitate their conquest of the kingdom of Naples, opened to them all the fortresses of Genoa which were dependent on him. The Republic of Venice intended to remain neutral, reposing in its own strength, and made the Duke of Ferrara and the Marquis of Mantua, its neighbors, adopt the same policy; but southern Italy formed for its defence a league, comprehending the Tuscan republics, the states of the Church, and the kingdom of Naples.

Upper Italy welcomes the French.

The Southern League.

At Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici left three sons, of whom Pietro II., at the age of twenty-one, was named chief of the republic. Pietro de' Medici remained faithful to the treaty which his father had made with Ferdinand, King of Naples, and engaged to refuse the

French a free passage, if they attempted to enter Southern Italy by Tuscany. The republics of Sienna and Lucca, too feeble to adopt an independent policy, promised to follow the impulse given by Medici. In the states of the Church, Roderic Borgia had succeeded to Innocent VIII., on the 11th of August, 1492, under the name of Alexander VI. He was the richest of the cardinals, and at the same time the most depraved in morals, and the most perfidious as a politician. The marriage of one of his sons (for he had several) with a natural daughter of Alphonso, son of Ferdinand, had put the seal to his alliance with the reigning house of Naples. That house then appeared at the summit of prosperity. Ferdinand, though seventy years of age, was still vigorous; he was rich; he had triumphed over all his enemies; he passed for the most able politician in Italy. His two sons, Alphonso and Frederick, and his grandson, Ferdinand, were reputed skilful warriors: they had an army and a numerous fleet under their orders. However, Ferdinand dreaded a war with France, and he had just opened negotiations to avoid it, when he died suddenly, on the 25th of January, 1494. His son, Alphonso II., succeeded him; while Frederick took the command of the fleet, and the young Ferdinand that of the army, destined to defend Romagna against the French.

Alexander VI.

Power of the House of Naples.

It was by Pontremoli and the Lunigiana that

The French invade Italy.

Charles VIII., according to the advice of Ludovic the Moor, resolved to conduct his army into Southern Italy. This road, traversing the Apennines from Parma to Pontremoli, over poor pasture lands, and descending through olive-groves to the sea, the shore of which it follows at the foot of the mountains, was not without danger. The country produces little grain of any kind. Corn was brought from abroad, at a great expense, in exchange for oil. The narrow space between the sea and the mountains was defended by a chain of fortresses, which might long stop the army on a coast where it would have experienced at the same time famine and the pestilential fever of Pietra-Santa. Pietro de' Medici, upon learning that the French were arrived at Sarzanna, and perceiving the fermentation which the news of their approach excited at Florence, resolved to imitate the act of his father which he had heard the most praised—his visit to Ferdinand at Naples. He departed to meet Charles VIII. On his road he traversed a field of battle where 300 Florentine soldiers had been cut to pieces by the French, who had refused to give quarter to a single one. Seized with terror on being introduced to Charles, he, on the first summons, caused the fortresses of Sarzanna and Sarzanello to be immediately surrendered. He afterward gave up those of Librafratta, Pisa, and Leghorn; consenting that Charles should

Pietro de' Medici's cowardice.

garrison and keep them until his return from Italy, or until peace was signed; and thus establishing the King of France in the heart of Tuscany. It was contrary to the wish of the Florentines that Medici had engaged in hostilities against the French, for whom they entertained a hereditary attachment; but the conduct of the chief of the state, who, after having drawn them into a war, delivered their fortresses, without authority, into the hands of the enemy whom he had provoked, appeared as disgraceful as it was criminal.

He gives up several fortresses.

Pietro de' Medici, after this act of weakness, quitted Charles, to return in haste to Florence, where he arrived on the 8th of November, 1494. On his preparing, the next day, to visit the signoria, he found guards at the door of the palace, who refused him admittance. Astonished at this opposition, he returned home, to put himself under the protection of his brother-in-law, Paolo Orsini, a Roman noble, whom he had taken, with a troop of cavalry, into the pay of the republic. Supported by Orsini, the three brothers Medici rapidly traversed the streets, repeating the war-cry of their family—"Palle! Palle!"—without exciting a single movement of the populace, upon whom they reckoned, in their favor. The friends of liberty, the Piagnoni, on the other hand, excited by the exhortations of Savonarola, assembled, and took arms. Their number continually increased. The

Resentment in Florence.

Flight of the Medici.

Medici, terrified, left the city by the gate of San Gallo; traversed the Apennines; retired first to Bologna, then to Venice; and thus lost, without a struggle, a sovereignty which their family had already exercised sixty years.

The same day, the 19th of November, 1494, on which the Medici were driven out of Florence, the Florentines were driven out of Pisa. This latter city, which had been eighty-seven years under the dominion of her ancient rival, could not habituate herself to a state of subjection. Pisa had successively lost all that gave her prosperity or made her illustrious. She no longer had shipping, commerce, or wealth; the population diminished; agriculture was neglected throughout the Pisan territory; stagnant water began to infect the air; every profession which led to distinction was abandoned. There were no men of science or letters, no artists; there remained only soldiers; but with them, courage and the military spirit survived at Pisa in all their ancient splendor. Every noble served in the companies of adventure; every citizen and peasant exercised himself in arms, and on every occasion evinced a bravery which was beginning to be rare in Italy, and which commanded the respect of the French. Charles VIII., on receiving from Pietro de' Medici the fortresses of Librafratta, Pisa, and Leghorn, in the Pisan states, engaged to preserve to the Florentines the countries within the

Florence loses Pisa.

range of these fortresses, and to restore them at the conclusion of the war. But Charles had very confused notions of the rights of a country into which he carried war, and was by no means scrupulous as to keeping his word. When a deputation of Pisans represented to him the tyranny under which they groaned, and solicited from him the liberty of their country, he granted their request without hesitation, without even suspecting that he disposed of what was not his, or that he broke his word to the Florentines: he equally forgot every other engagement with them. Upon entering Florence, on the 17th of November, at the head of his army, he regarded himself as a conqueror, and therefore as dispensed from every promise which he had made to Pietro de' Medici,—he hesitated only between restoring his conquest to Pietro, or retaining it himself. The magistrates in vain represented to him that he was the guest of the nation, and not its master; that the gates had been opened to him as a mark of respect, not from any fear; that the Florentines were far from feeling themselves conquered, while the palaces of Florence were occupied not only by the citizens but by the soldiers of the republic. Charles still insisted on disgraceful conditions, which his secretary read as his ultimatum. Pietro Capponi suddenly snatched the paper from the secretary's hand, and tearing it, exclaimed, "Well, if it be thus, sound

Bad faith of Charles VIII.

He regards himself as a conqueror

Florence is defiant.

your trumpets, and we will ring our bells!" This energetic movement daunted the French: Charles declared himself content with the subsidy offered by the republic, and engaged on his part to restore, as soon as he had accomplished the conquest of Naples, or signed peace, or even consented to a long truce, all the fortresses which had been delivered to him by Medici. Charles after this convention departed from Florence, by the road to Sienna, on the 28th of November. The Neapolitan army evacuated Romagna, the patrimony of St. Peter, and Rome, in succession, as he advanced. He entered Rome on the 31st of December, without fighting a blow. The first resistance which he encountered was on the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples; and having there taken by assault two small towns, he massacred the inhabitants. This instance of ferocity struck Alphonso II. with such terror that he abdicated the crown in favor of his son, Ferdinand II., and retired with his treasure into Sicily. Ferdinand occupied Capua with his whole army, intending to defend the passage of the Vulturno. He left that city to appease a sedition which had broken out at Naples; Capua, during his absence, was given up through fear to the French, and he was himself forced, on the 21st of February, to embark for Ischia. All the barons, his vassals, all the provincial cities, sent deputies to Charles; and the whole kingdom of Naples

Charles VIII. leaves Florence.

Alphonso abdicates.

was conquered without a single battle in its defence. The powers of the north of Italy regarded these important conquests with a jealous eye: they, moreover, were already disgusted by the insolence of the French, who had begun to conduct themselves as masters throughout the whole peninsula. The Duke of Orleans, who had been left by Charles at Asti, already declared his pretensions to the Duchy of Milan, as heir to his grandmother, Valentina Visconti. Ludovico Sforza, upon this, contracted alliances with the Venetians, the Pope, the King of Spain, and the Emperor Maximilian, for maintaining the independence of Italy; and the Duke of Milan and the Venetians assembled near Parma a powerful army, under the command of the Marquis of Mantua.

Naples falls without a blow.

Charles VIII. had passed three months at Naples in feasts and tournaments, while his lieutenants were subduing and disorganizing the provinces. The news of what was passing in northern Italy determined him on returning to France with the half of his army. He departed from Naples, on the 20th of May, 1495, and passed peaceably through Rome, while the Pope shut himself up in the castle of St. Angelo. From Sienna he went to Pisa, and thence to Pontremoli, where he entered the Apennines. Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, awaited him at Fornovo, on the other side of that chain of mountains. Charles passed

Charles retreats.

the Taro, with the hope of avoiding him; but was attacked on its borders by the Italians, on the 6th of July. He was at the time in full march; the divisions of his army were scattered, and at some distance from each other.

The army in imminent danger.

For some time his danger was imminent; but the impetuosity of the French, and the obstinate valor of the Swiss, repaired the fault of their general. A great number of the Italian men-at-arms were thrown in the charges of the French cavalry, many others were brought down by the Swiss halberts, and all were instantly put to death by the servants of the army. Gonzaga left 3,500 dead on the field, and Charles continued his retreat. On his arrival at Asti, he entered into treaty with Ludovico Sforza, for the deliverance of the Duke of Orleans, whom Sforza besieged at Novara. He disbanded 20,000 Swiss, who were brought to him from the mountains, but to whose hands he would not venture to confide himself. On the 22d of October, 1495,

Charles repasses the Alps.

he repassed the Alps, after having ravaged all Italy with the violence and rapidity of a hurricane. He had left his relative, Gilbert de Montpensier, Viceroy at Naples, with the half of his army; but the people, already wearied with his yoke, recalled Ferdinand II. The French, after many battles, successively lost their conquests, and were at length forced to capitulate at Atella, on the 23d of July, 1496.

VOYAGES OF VASCO DA GAMA

(A.D. 1497–1499)

RICHARD HENRY MAJOR

THE great discovery* of Bartolomeu Dias was not to remain fruitless, although it may fairly be wondered at that so long an interval should have been allowed to elapse between that discovery in 1487 and the realization of its advantages by Vasco da Gama ten years later. Some have even added to the reasonable inquiry an unreasonable insinuation that the success of Columbus proved to be the effective stimulus to the second important expedition. No chimera was ever more untenable when examined by the light of facts and dates. Indeed the interval of five years between the two grand discoveries of Columbus and Da Gama is in itself sufficient to show that we must look elsewhere for an explanation of the delay. It will be remembered that before Dias had returned at the close of 1487, Payva and Covilham had been sent by land

Events that led to the great expedition.

* Cape of Good Hope.

to Eastern Africa, and that from Cairo, in 1490, Covilham had sent home word to the King confirmatory of the fact that India was to be reached by the south of Africa. It happened, however, that in this same year, 1490, King John was seized with an illness so severe that his life was in the utmost jeopardy. This was supposed to have been caused by his drinking the water of a fountain near Evora, which was thought to have been poisoned.

King John's illness.

The condition of the King's health and the personal anxieties accruing from the state of his kingdom, together with his domestic troubles, were of a nature to present serious obstacles to the development of those grander schemes which had been so vividly opened up with respect to India. He died on the 25th of October, 1495, in the fortieth year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. His successor, King Manoel, received the name of "The Fortunate," from his good fortune in succeeding to the throne of a sovereign who had won for himself the designation of "The Perfect Prince." The first thought of the new King was to resume the distant maritime explorations which had already reflected so much honor on the far-sighted intelligence of their initiator, Prince Henry.

Manoel the Fortunate.

At length an experienced navigator of noble family was selected, in 1496, to attempt the passage to India by the newly discovered southern Cape of Africa. If we may trust a

historian of good repute, and the holder of an important post in the royal archives, this selection was the result of a mere whim on the part of King Manoel. We are told by Pedro de Mariz, in his *Dialogos de Varia Historia,* that the King was one evening at one of the windows of his palace, meditating on the possibility of realizing the grand projects of his predecessor, Joao II., when Vasco da Gama happened to come alone into the court beneath the King's balcony. Without hesitation the King mentally resolved that he should be the chief in command of the fleet of the Indies.

Selection of Vasco da Gama.

The preparations for the enterprise were made by the King with the greatest forethought. Four vessels, purposely made small for the sake of easy and rapid movement, the largest not exceeding a hundred and twenty tons, were built expressly in the most solid manner, of the best-selected wood, well fastened with iron. Each ship was provided with a triple supply of sails and spars and rope. Every kind of needful store was laid in in superfluity, and the most skilful pilots and sailors that the country could furnish were sent out with Da Gama. The largest vessel, the *Sam Gabriel,* he of course took under his own command. The captaincy of the *Sam Rafael,* of one hundred tons, was given to his brother, Paolo da Gama; the *Berrio,* a caravel of fifty tons, was commanded by Nicolao Coelho; and a small craft laden with muni-

Careful preparations.

Description of the fleet.

The captains.

tions was given to the charge of Pedro Nuñez, a servant of Da Gama. It had been intended that Bartolomeu Dias should accompany the expedition, but he was subsequently ordered to sail for San Jorge el Mina, perhaps for political reasons, on a more profitable but less glorious mission. His pilot, however, Pedro de Alemquer, who had carried him beyond the Stormy Cape,* was sent out on board Vasco da Gama's ship, and the two other pilots were Joao de Coimbra and Pedro Escolar.

The expedition sets sail.

It was on Saturday, the 8th of July, 1497, that Vasco da Gama started from Restello, an *ermida* or chapel which had been built by Prince Henry about a league from Lisbon, and in which he had placed certain friars of the Order of Christ, that they might receive confessions and administer the communion to outward-bound or weather-bound sailors. Dom Manoel, who succeeded his uncle as Grand Master of the order, subsequently built on the spot the splendid Temple of Belem, or Bethlehem. As the first-fruits of the success of that important voyage, on which Da Gama was now starting, he transferred it to the Order of the Monks of St. Jerome. The whole building is erected on piles of pine wood. It is entered on the south side under a rich porch, which contains more than thirty

Temple of Belem.

* Cabo Tormentoso, name given by Dias to the Cape of Good Hope.

statues. The doorway is double. Above the central shaft is a statue of Prince Henry in armor.

Without dwelling on such details of Da Gama's outward voyage as present no important novelty, we shall pass over four months, and on the 4th of November we shall find the little fleet anchored in the Bay of St. Helena, on the west coast of Africa, where for the first time they became acquainted with the Bosjemans or Bushmen, that peculiar race allied to the Hottentots, but so different from the Caffirs. Here they landed to take in water, as well as to take astronomical observations with the astrolabe, newly invented by Behaim, for Da Gama mistrusted the observations taken on board, on account of the rolling of the vessel.

Da Gama lands at St. Helena.

On the 16th of November they proceeded south, but on the 19th made their course for the desired point. On Wednesday, the 22d of November, at noon, Da Gama sailed before a wind past the formidable cape to which King Joao II. had given the undying name of Good Hope, in anticipation of the achievement which was now about to be accomplished.

The Cape of Good Hope.

On Saturday, the 25th of November, he entered the bay which Bartolomeu Dias had named Sam Bras, and where the Portuguese had had a disagreement with the natives. The latter were now amiable enough, and exchanged with their visitors ivory bracelets for scarlet caps and other articles. Their cattle

were remarkable for their size and beauty. A misunderstanding unhappily arose through unfounded suspicions on the part of the natives, but Da Gama prudently withdrew his men without bloodshed, and frightened the Hottentots by firing his guns from the ships. In this bay Da Gama set up a padrao and cross, but they were thrown down before his eyes by the natives.

Trouble with the Hottentots.

They left the Bay of Sam Bras on Friday, December the 8th. On Friday, the 15th, they sighted the Ilheos Chaos, or Flat Islets, five leagues beyond the Ilheo da Cruz (the Bird Islands in Algoa Bay), where Dias had left a padrao. On the night of Sunday, the 17th, they passed the Rio do Iffante, the extreme point of Dias's discovery, and here Da Gama became seriously alarmed at the force of the current that he encountered. Fortunately the wind was in his favor, and on Christmas Day he gained sight of land, to which, on that account, he gave the name of Natal. On Wednesday, the 10th of January, 1498, they came to a small river, and on the next day landed in the country of the Caffirs, where an entirely new race of men from those they had hitherto seen met their eyes. On Monday, the 22d of January, Da Gama reached a large river, where, to his great joy, he met with two richly dressed Mahometan merchants, who trafficked with the Caffirs, and from whom he gathered valuable information as to the route

Natal is reached.

of India. Here he erected a pillar, which he named the padrao of Sam Rafael, and he called the river the Rio dos Boos Signaes, or River of Good Signs (the Quilimane River). In an inferior sense the name was inappropriate, for here the scurvy broke out among the crew. Scurvy breaks out.

They set sail on Saturday, the 24th of January, and on the 10th of March anchored off the island of Mozambique. The people of the country told them that Prester John had many cities along that coast, whose inhabitants were great merchants, and had large ships, but that Prester John himself lived a great way inland, and could only be reached by travelling on camels. This information filled the Portuguese with delight, for it was one of the great objects of these explorations to find out the country of Prester John, and they prayed God to spare them to see what they all so earnestly desired.

On Thursday, the 17th of May, 1498, Da Gama first sighted, at eight leagues' distance, the high land of India, the object of so many anxieties and of so many years of persevering effort. On Sunday, the 20th of May, he anchored before Calicut. On the following day some boats came out to them, and Da Gama sent one of the "degradados," or condemned criminals, on shore with them, and they took the man to two Moors of Tunis, who spoke both Spanish and Genoese, and the first salu- Success at last.

tation they gave him was as follows: "The devil take you for coming here! What brought you here from such a distance?" He replied: "We come in search of Christians and spices." They said: "Why does not the King of Spain, and the King of France, and the Signoria of Venice send hither?" He replied that the King of Portugal would not consent that they should do so, and they said he was right. Then they welcomed him, and gave him wheaten bread with honey, and, after he had eaten, one of the two Moors went back with him to the ships, and when he came on board said, "Happy venture! happy venture! Abundance of rubies; abundance of emeralds! You ought to give many thanks to God for bringing you to a country in which there is such wealth." The Portuguese were utterly astounded at hearing a man at that distance from Portugal speak their own language. This Moor, whom Barros calls Monçaide and Castanheda Boutaibo, most probably Bou-said, proved very useful to Vasco da Gama, and went home with him to Portugal, where he died a Christian. Calicut, the wealthy capital of that part of the Malabar coast, was governed at that time by a Hindoo sovereign named Samoudri-Rajah (the King of the Coast), a name which the Portuguese afterward converted into Zamorin. Da Gama had the good fortune to gain an audience of this prince, by whom he was favorably re-

Encouraging speeches.

ceived, but with very little ultimate success, in consequence of his not being provided with presents suitable for an Eastern sovereign. This unlucky circumstance, combined with the hatred of the Arab merchants, whose ships crowded the harbor and who regarded with apprehension any rivals in the rich trade of spices, was near producing fatal results.

Da Gama's lack of suitable gifts.

Da Gama thought it his duty to establish a factory, at the head of which he placed Diogo Dias, the brother of the first discoverer of the Cape.

The passage across to Africa lasted for three months all but three days, in consequence of the frequent calms and contrary winds. During this time the crews were attacked so severely with scurvy that thirty men died, so that there were only seven or eight men to work each vessel, and if the voyage had lasted a fortnight longer there would not have been a soul left. The commanders were even thinking of putting back to India, but happily a favorable wind arose which brought them in six days in sight of land, which was almost as welcome to them as if it had been Portugal. This was on Wednesday, the 2d of January, 1499. The next day they found themselves off Magadoxo, but they were in quest of Melinda, and did not know how far they were from it. On Monday, the 7th of January, they anchored off that town. On Friday, the 11th of January, they set sail; on Saturday, the

Tedious return voyage.

12th, passed Mombaza, and on Sunday anchored on the Sam Rafael shoals, where they set fire to the *Sam Rafael* herself, because they were too short of hands to work the three vessels. On Sunday, the 3d of March, 1499, they reached the Bay of Sam Bras, where they took a quantity of anchovies and salted down penguins and sea-wolves for their homeward voyage, and the wind being fair they doubled the Cape of Good Hope on Wednesday, the 20th of March. On Thursday, the 25th of April, they found ground in thirty-five fathoms, varying to twenty fathoms, and the pilots said they were on the shoals of the Rio Grande. Shortly afterward the caravel of Nicolao Coelho was separated from that of Da Gama, but whether the separation was the effect of a storm, or whether Coelho, who was aware of the superior sailing qualities of his vessel, availed himself of it to be the first to carry to Lisbon the news of the discovery of the Indies, has never been satisfactorily decided. However that may have been, Nicolao Coelho reached the bar of Lisbon on the 10th of July, 1499. When Da Gama reached the island of Santiago, where his brother Paolo da Gama was seriously ill, he delegated the command of his vessel to the secretary, Joao de Sá. He then freighted a swifter caravel with the view of shortening the passage to Portugal. Meanwhile his brother died, and he put in at the island of Terceira and buried him there.

Destruction of the *Sam Rafael.*

Separation of the remaining ships.

He reached Lisbon at the end of August or beginning of September, and was received with great pomp by the court. His return from a voyage in which so mighty a discovery had been made was hailed with magnificent fêtes and public rejoicings, which by the King's order were repeated in all the principal cities throughout the kingdom. In that important voyage he had lost his brother, more than half of his crew, and half his vessels, but he brought back the solution of a great problem which was destined to raise his country to the very acme of prosperity.

Da Gama's splendid reception.

THE EXECUTION OF SAVONAROLA

(A.D. 1498)

JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS

NOTHING is more characteristic of the sharp contrasts of the Italian Renaissance than the emergence not only from the same society, but also from the bosom of the same Church, of two men so diverse as the Pope Alexander VI. and the Prophet Girolamo Savonarola. Savonarola has been claimed as a precursor of the Lutheran Reformers, and as an inspired exponent of the spirit of the Fifteenth Century. In reality he neither shared the revolutionary genius of Luther, which gave a new vitality to the faiths of Christendom, nor did he sympathize with that free movement of the modern mind which found its first expression in the arts and humanistic studies of Renaissance Italy. Both toward Renaissance and Reform he preserved the attitude of a monk, showing on the one hand an austere mistrust of pagan culture, and on the other no desire to alter either the creeds or the traditions of the Romish Church. Yet the history of Savonarola is not to be

Attitude of Savonarola toward the Renaissance.

dissociated from that of the Italian Renaissance. He more clearly than any other man discerned the moral and political situation of his country. His political discernment.

During the years of 1493 and 1494, when Florence, together with Italy, was in imminent peril, the voice of Savonarola never ceased to ring. His sermons on the psalm "Quam bonus" and on the Ark of Noah are among the most stupendous triumphs of his eloquence. From his pulpit beneath the sombre dome of Brunelleschi he kept pouring forth words of power to resuscitate the free spirit of his Florentines. In 1495, when the Medici had been expelled and the French army had gone on its way to Naples, Savonarola was called upon to reconstruct the state. He bade the people abandon their old system of Parlamenti and Balia, and establish a Grand Council after the Venetian type. This institution, which seemed to the Florentines the best they had ever adopted, might be regarded by the historian as only one among their many experiments in constitution-making, if Savonarola had not stamped it with his peculiar genius by announcing that Christ was to be considered the Head of the State. This step at once gave a theocratic bias to the government, which determined all the acts of the monk's administration. Not content with political organization, too impatient to await the growth of good manners from sound insti- He recommends a Grand Council.

His moral and religious reformation.

tutions, he set about a moral and religious reformation. Pomps, vanities and vices were to be abandoned. Immediately the women and the young men threw aside their silks and fine attire. The Carnival songs ceased. Hymns and processions took the place of obscene choruses and pagan triumphs. The laws were remodelled in the same severe and abrupt spirit. Usury was abolished. Whatever Savonarola ordained, Florence executed. By the magic of his influence the city for a moment assumed a new aspect. It seemed as though the old austerity which Dante and Villani praised were about to return without the factious hate and pride that ruined medieval Tuscany. In everything done by Savonarola at this epoch there was a strange combination of political sagacity with monastic zeal. Neither Guicciardini nor Machiavelli, writing years afterward, when Savonarola had fallen and Florence was again enslaved, could propose anything wiser than his Consiglio Grande. Yet the fierce revivalism advocated by the friar—the bonfire of Lorenzo di Credi's and Fra Bartòlommeo's pictures, of manuscripts of Boccaccio and classic poets, and of all those fineries which a Venetian Jew is said to have valued in one heap at 22,000 florins—the recitation of such Bacchanalian songs as this—

His political sagacity.

His vandalism.

"Never was there so sweet a gladness,
Joy of so pure and strong a fashion

As with zeal and love and passion
Thus to embrace Christ's holy madness!
Cry with me, cry as I now cry,
Madness, madness, holy madness!"

—the procession of boys and girls through the streets, shaming their elders into hypocritical piety, and breeding in their own hearts the intolerable priggishness of premature pietism —could not bring forth excellent and solid fruits. The change was far too violent. The temper of the race was not prepared for it. It clashed too rudely with Renaissance culture. It outraged the sense of propriety in the more moderate citizens, and roused to vindictive fury the worst passions of the self-indulgent and worldly. A reaction was inevitable. Inevitable reaction.

Meanwhile the strong wine of prophecy intoxicated Savonarola. His fiery temperament, strained to the utmost by the dead weight of Florentine affairs that pressed upon him, became more irritable day by day. Vision succeeded vision; trance followed upon trance; agonies of dejection were suddenly transformed into outbursts of magnificent and soul-sustaining enthusiasm. It was no wonder if, passing as he had done from the discipline of the cloister to the dictatorship of a republic, he should make extravagant mistakes. The tension of this abnormal situation in the city grew to be excessive, and cool thinkers predicted that Savonarola's position would become untenable. Parties began to

Hostile parties.

form and gather to a head. The followers of the monk, by far the larger section of the people, received the name of Piagnoni or Frateschi. The friends of the Medici, few at first and cautious, were called Bigi. The opponents of Savonarola and of the Medici, who hated his theocracy, but desired to see an oligarchy and not a tyranny in Florence, were known as the Arrabbiati.

The discontent which germinated in Florence displayed itself in Rome. Alexander found it intolerable to be assailed as Antichrist by a monk who had made himself master of the chief Italian republic. At first he used his arts of blandishment and honeyed words in order to lure Savonarola to Rome. The friar refused to quit Florence. Then Alexander suspended him from preaching. Savonarola obeyed, but wrote at the same time to Charles VIII., denouncing his indolence and calling upon him to reform the Church. At the request of the Florentine Republic, though still suffering from the Pope's interdict, he then resumed his preaching. Alexander sought next to corrupt the man he could not intimidate. To the suggestion that a cardinal's hat might be offered to him, Savonarola replied that he preferred the red crown of martyrdom. Ascending the pulpit of the Duomo in 1496, he preached the most fiery of all his Lenten courses. Of this series of orations Milman writes: "His triumphal

The Pope suspends Savonarola from preaching.

career began with the Advent of 1494 on Haggai and the Psalms. But it is in the Carême of 1496 on Amos and Zechariah that the preacher girds himself to his full strength, when he had attained his full authority, and could not but be conscious that there was a deep and dangerous rebellion at Florence, and when already ominous rumors began to be heard from Rome. He that would know the power, the daring, the oratory of Savonarola, must study this volume."

The friar's most brilliant orations.

Very terrific indeed are the denunciations contained in these discourses—denunciations fulminated without disguise against the Pope and priests of Rome, against the Medici, against the Florentines themselves, in whom the traces of rebellion were beginning to appear. Mingled with these vehement invectives, couched in Savonarola's most impassioned style and heightened by his most impressive imagery, are political harangues and polemical arguments against the Pope. The position assumed by the friar in his war with Rome was not a strong one, and the reasoning by which he supported it was marked by curious self-deception mingled with apparent efforts to deceive his audience. He had not the audacious originality of Luther. He never went to the length of braving Alexander by burning his Bulls and by denying the authority of popes in general. Not daring to break all connection with the Holy See, he was

His denunciations.

His limitations.

driven to quibble about the distinction between the office and the man, assuming a hazardous attitude of obedience to the Church whose head and chief he daily outraged. At the same time he took no pains to enlist the sympathies of the Italian princes, many of whom might presumably have been hostile to the Pope, on his side of the quarrel. All the tyrants came in for a share of his prophetic indignation. Lodovico Sforza, the Lord of Mirandola, and Pietro de' Medici felt themselves specially aggrieved, and kept urging Alexander to extinguish this source of scandal to established governments. Against so great and powerful a host one man could not stand alone. Savonarola's position became daily more dangerous in Florence. The merchants, excommunicated by the Pope and thus exposed to pillage in foreign markets, grumbled at the friar who spoiled their trade. The ban of interdiction lay upon the city, where the sacraments could no longer be administered or the dead be buried with the rites of Christians. Meanwhile a band of high-spirited and profligate young men, called Compagnacci, used every occasion to insult and interrupt him. At last in March, 1498, his stanch friends, the Signory, or supreme executive of Florence, suspended him from preaching in the Duomo. Even the populace were weary of the protracted quarrel with the Holy See; nor could any but his own fanatical adherents an-

He antagonizes all tyrants.

Florence groans under the interdict.

ticipate the wars which threatened the state with equanimity.

Savonarola himself felt that the supreme hour was come. One more resource was left; to that he would now betake himself; he could afterward but die. This last step was the convening of a general council. Accordingly he addressed letters to all the European potentates. One of these, inscribed to Charles VIII., was despatched, intercepted, and conveyed to Alexander. He wrote also to the Pope and warned him of his purpose. The termination of that epistle is noteworthy: "I can thus have no longer any hope in your Holiness, but must turn to Christ alone, who chooses the weak of this world to confound the strong lions among the perverse generations. He will assist me to prove and sustain, in the face of the world, the holiness of the work for the sake of which I so greatly suffer; and he will inflict a just punishment on those who persecute me and would impede its progress. As for myself, I seek no earthly glory, but long eagerly for death. May your Holiness no longer delay but look to your salvation."

Savonarola's last resource.

His letter to the Pope.

But while girding on his armor for this single-handed combat with the Primate of Christendom and the Princes of Italy, the martyrdom to which Savonarola now looked forward fell upon him. Growing yearly more confident in his visions and more willing to admit his supernatural powers, he had

His claims to supernatural powers.

imperceptibly prepared the pit which finally ingulfed him. Often had he professed his readiness to prove his vocation by fire. Now came the moment when this defiance to an ordeal was answered. A Franciscan of Apulia offered to meet him in the flames and see whether he were of God or not. Fra Domenico, Savonarola's devoted friend, took up the gauntlet and proposed himself as champion. The furnace was prepared: both monks stood ready to enter it: all Florence was assembled in the Piazza to witness what should happen. Various obstacles, however, arose; and, after waiting a whole day for the friar's triumph, the people had to retire to their homes under a pelting shower of rain, unsatisfied, and with a dreary sense that after all their prophet was but a mere man. The Compagnacci got the upper hand. St. Mark's convent was besieged. Savonarola was led to prison, never to issue till the day of his execution by the rope and fagot. We may draw a veil over those last weeks. Little indeed is known about them, except that in his cell the friar composed his meditations on the 31st and 51st Psalms, the latter of which was published in Germany with a preface by Luther in 1573. Of the rest we hear only of prolonged torture before stupid and malignant judges, of falsified evidence, and of contradictory confessions. What he really said and chose to stand by, what he retracted, what he

The abortive trial by fire.

Torture and contradictory confessions.

shrieked out in the delirium of the rack, and what was falsely imputed to him, no one now can settle. Though the spirit was strong, the flesh was weak; he had the will but not the nerve to be a martyr.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third of May, 1498, he was led forth, together with Brother Salvestro, the confidant of his visions, and Brother Domenico, his champion in the affair of the ordeal, to a stage prepared in the Piazza. These two men were hanged first. Savonarola was left till the last. As the hangman tied the rope around his neck, a voice from the crowd shouted: "Prophet, now is the time to perform a miracle!" The Bishop of Vasona, who conducted the execution, stripped his friar's frock from him, and said: "I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant." Savonarola, firm and combative even at the point of death, replied: "Militant, yes; triumphant, no: *that* is not yours." The last words he uttered were: "The Lord has suffered as much for me." Then the noose was tightened around his neck. The fire beneath was lighted. The flames did not reach his body while life was in it; but those who gazed intently thought they saw the right hand give the sign of benediction. A little child afterward saw his heart still whole among the ashes cast into the Arno; and almost to this day flowers have been placed every morning

Execution and last words.

of the 23d of May upon the slab of the Piazza where his body fell.

Thus died Savonarola; and immediately he became a saint. His sermons and other works were universally distributed. Medals in his honor were struck. Raphael painted him among the Doctors of the Church in the Camera della Segnatura of the Vatican. The Church, with strange inconsistency, proposed to canonize the man whom she had burned as a contumacious heretic and a corrupter of the people. This canonization never took place; but many Dominican Churches used a special office with his name and in his honor. A legend similar to that of St. Francis in its wealth of mythical details embalmed the memory of even the smallest details of his life. But above all, he lived in the hearts of the Florentines. For many years to come his name was the watchword of their freedom; his prophecies sustained their spirit during the siege of 1528; and it was only by returning to his policy that Niccolo Capponi and Francesco Carducci ruled the people through those troublous times.

Posthumous influence.

THE MORISCOS

(A.D. 1499—1502)

U. R. BURKE

FOR seven years both Isabella and Ferdinand kept faith with their Moslem subjects, who lived and prospered under the mild and sympathetic administration of their Alcaide or Administrator-General, Mendoza, Count of Tendilla, and their Archbishop, Ferdinand of Talavera, good men both, and honorable, Castilian Christians of the best school, humane, enlightened, and generous. And the Moors of Granada had little reason to regret their own contemptible Boabdil, or even the cruel and violent uncle whom he had betrayed.

Mild administration.

The *Capitulacion para la entrega de Granada,* of the 25th of November, 1491, as well as the inevitable *Capitulacion Secreta* of the same date, which may both be seen to this day in the archives at Simancas, are worthy not only of study but of admiration. The provisions for the perfect liberty of the Moors in the future, as regards their religion and their laws, are both numerous and precise; and forbid even the gentlest attempts at con-

Liberal provisions of the Capitulacion.

version. Had the treaty been fairly carried out, the condition of the subject Moors would have been similar to that enjoyed by the Indian and Cypriote Moslems under modern English rule, at the present day, save in that whereas English judges are allowed to administer Mohammedan law in India, and to a limited extent in Cyprus, it was provided by the fifteenth clause of the Granada treaty that any question arising between Moor and Moor, "sean juzgadas por *sus alcadis* segund costumbre de los Moros"; and a tribunal *de medietate religionis* was established by the forty-second clause, with jurisdiction in all cases of dispute between Moors and Christians. The whole treaty breathes a spirit of generous toleration, which was no doubt largely due to the influence of Gonsalvo de Cordova.

Growth of intolerance.

But Spain had undergone a great change between 1492 and 1499. The Inquisition had not labored in vain. The Moors had been conquered, the Jews had been expelled, Torquemada was at Seville, Roderic Borgia was at Rome; the Crown was more absolute, the Church was more aggressive; Isabella had become less considerate, Ferdinand more rapacious, the nobility less powerful, the commonalty more bigoted. And toward the end of the year 1499, Ximenez, interrupting, as Hefele has it, the good work of reforming the Christian clergy, that he might devote himself to the conversion of the Moors, made

his appearance at Granada in the train of the Catholic sovereigns. Dissatisfied at once with the methods and with the progress of Talavera, he soon caused himself to be associated with the local archbishop in the spiritual charge of his diocese. Thus, with the approbation of Isabella, and without opposition on the part of his gentle colleague, Ximenez assumed the entire direction of affairs in Granada, and the Moors were soon made to feel the effect of this change of masters.

Ximenez appears at Granada.

In vigor at least, the Archbishop of Toledo had no rival in Christendom. His religious feelings, his political aspirations, his personal pride, were all offended by the presence of a Moslem Society in Spain; and that which offended Ximenez was usually swept away. At first he contented himself with persuasion. Rich presents, gifts of money, promises of future favor, were showered upon the leading citizens, and were not without their effect. Of the old Arab race not many were left in Granada. Few had been found under the later Moorish kings; still fewer remained after the disgraceful surrender of Boabdil. Upon the mixed multitude whose conversion was taken in hand by Ximenez, a judicious mixture of threats and largesses had a very powerful influence. The citizens were baptized in droves, and the sacred rite was administered by the undignified method of aspersion.

Effect of his measures.

His vandalism.

Yet fire as well as water was employed in the conversion of the city. For the burning of the Moslems themselves the time had not yet arrived; but their books at least might pay the penalty of heterodoxy, and feed the ready flames of persecution. An immense pile of manuscripts of every description, works on theology and philosophy, copies of the Koran, Commentaries on Aristotle, books of science, of poetry, of history, of medicine, of mathematics, were collected by pious hands, and burned by Ximenez in the great square of Granada. Many of these manuscripts, we are told, were triumphs of caligraphy, and of the now almost forgotten art of the illuminator; many were in gorgeous bindings; but nothing was sacred for the spoiler. Copies of the Koran worth more than their weight in gold, records and treatises beyond price, all were involved in the barbarous holocaust.

His diligent rigor.

The Primate's next step was the publication of an ordinance forbidding the inhabitants, under pain of imprisonment and corporal chastisement, to speak evil of the Christian religion, or of those who professed it; and the proclamation was so liberally interpreted by the royal officers that in a few days the prisons were filled with accused persons, who were treated with the utmost severity. Nor was any one released until he had abjured the faith of Islam, and consented to embrace Chris-

tianity. As time went on, the "diligent rigor," as an admiring chronicler has it, of the great Franciscan became still more exacting. A Moor of royal lineage, Al Zegri by name, having been invited to a religious conference for the purpose of conversion, had withstood the arguments and rejected the gifts of the Primate; and Ximenez had retorted by the arrest and imprisonment of so independent a Nonconformist. The arguments of the jailers proved more potent than those of Ximenez himself, and after a few days' experience of the methods of an ecclesiastical prison, Al Zegri was restored to freedom as a professing Christian. The Almighty, it was said, had deigned to pay him a special visit in his retirement, and had enjoined him not only to abjure the faith of his fathers, but to compel all his brethren to follow his example. He was baptized under the Christian names, not of Alfonso or Francisco, as might have been expected, in hónor of Ximenez, but of Gonsalvo Hernandez, in memory of the Great Captain with whom he had contended in more loyal warfare, in the course of the last siege of Granada.

Al Zegri's conversion.

The endurance of the population, however, had by this time been strained to the utmost. An insult offered by one of the Primate's servants to a Moorish girl in the Albaycin was the signal for the expected rising. And Ximenez found himself besieged in his palace

The first outbreak.

by the citizens in arms. The tumult thus excited by his violent and intemperate zeal was like to have developed into a revolution in peaceful Granada. But the generosity of Al Zegri himself saved Ximenez from the first shock of the fury of the populace; and when the personal influence and chivalrous devotion of the Moorish prince had checked the onslaught of an indignant people, the gentleness of Talavera and the discretion of Mendoza hushed the storm that had been so rashly raised. The venerable Archbishop made his way, without guards or attendants, into the very midst of the turmoil. The Count of Tendilla, bareheaded in the Albaycin, disclaimed any intention of armed interference, and offered his own children as hostages, if only the citizens would return to their homes and to their duty. The Moors, touched by such courage and such generosity, forgot the encroachments of Ximenez, and promptly laid down their arms; and within a few hours Granada was as tranquil and as industrious as before.

Al Zegri's generosity.

Granada is tranquilized.

Ximenez, however, after various letters to Ferdinand and Isabella, thought it best to make his way to Seville, partly that he might excuse himself to the sovereigns for the recent outbreak at Granada, which he was able to attribute to the wickedness of the Moslems, rather than to the intemperance of his own zeal, and partly that he might concert measures

for the complete reversal of the policy of Talavera and Mendoza at Granada. After some consultation with the King and Queen, the views of Ximenez prevailed, and commissioners were immediately despatched to Granada with instructions to continue the good work that had been temporarily suspended by the departure of the Primate. The Moors for the moment offered no further resistance. Conformity and emigration thinned the ranks of Islam. And when the inevitable rebellion broke out early in the ensuing year, it was confined to the inhabitants of a few outlying towns, and to the hardy mountaineers of that "land of warriors," the wild region of Alpujarras.

The rebellion in Alpujarras.

Yet, insignificant as the rising might have at first sight appeared, the sovereigns at once realized the importance of promptly checking a rebellion in the country which it had taken so many years to conquer. Far from despising an apparently insignificant enemy, they ordered Gonsalvo de Cordova, the hero of Granada, and the most accomplished general in Europe, to take immediate steps for the suppression of the local insurrection. The Great Captain was not a man to dally, and within a few days he entered the hostile province at the head of a small army. Several fortified cities had already been occupied by the insurgents, and of these the first to be attacked by the Catholic troops was Huejar,

Gonsalvo de Cordova called upon.

some miles to the south of Granada. The whole neighborhood having been flooded by the inhabitants as a means of defence, the heavily armed Spanish horsemen, including Gonsalvo himself, were wellnigh drowned before they could advance to the assault. But as soon as he had reached the walls the Great Captain, who in all his experience in command had not forgotten how to fight, planted the first scaling-ladder, cut down with his own hand the foremost Moslem who opposed him, leaped into the city, followed by his troops, and speedily reduced it to subjection.

The sack of Huejar.

By order of Ferdinand the whole of the garrison were put to the sword, the women and children sold as slaves, and the town given up to indiscriminate pillage. The next place to fall into the hands of the Christians was Lanjaron, *el paraiso de las Alpujarras,* whose inhabitants experienced the same amount of mercy as those of Huejar. The Count of Lerin, moreover, gave proof of his Christian zeal at Lanjaron, between Granada and Almeria, by blowing up a mosque filled with women and children; and the effects of the establishment of the Inquisition, and the personal influence of Ferdinand, were abundantly felt in the different manners in which the war was carried on from that of only ten years before. The Moors, however, soon sued for peace, craving only that the terms should be settled by Gonsalvo de Cordova; and the con-

The Count of Lerin's zeal.

ditions of the treaty that was at length granted by Ferdinand were, on the whole, more favorable than could have been expected under the circumstances.

As soon as tranquillity was restored, and Gonsalvo had retired once more to Cordova, it became apparent that a new policy, political and ecclesiastical, was to prevail in Granada; no longer the policy of Mendoza and Talavera; not even that of the Great Captain, but the "Thorough" policy of Ximenez. The very name of Moor was erased from the vocabulary of Christian Spain, and the remnants of the once dominant race were to be known in future as the Moriscos.

Sterner policy for Granada.

The Christian soldier had now taken his departure. But the Christian priest appeared; and behind him lay the entire power of Spain—the court, the army, the Church, and the Holy Office. The black battalions descended upon Granada, promising innumerable advantages, both temporal and eternal, to those who should embrace the Cross; and threatening with the most terrible penalties, in the present and future world, all who should neglect the opportunity which was then finally offered to them, of conversion to the True Faith. The results were exactly what might have been expected. The weaker, the more fraudulent, the more timid recanted. The more sturdy, the more bigoted, the more independent, once more re-

The black battalions.

Rebellion renewed.

belled. But this time it was not in the wild Alpujarras, but on the western frontier of Granada that the standard of revolt was raised. Nor was Gonsalvo de Cordova any longer at liberty to take command of the royal forces. For Ferdinand of Aragon had at length resolved to possess himself of the kingdom of Naples; and the Great Captain was once more on his way to Italy. His elder brother, Don Alfonso de Aguilar, was intrusted with the task of putting down the Moorish rebellion.

Don Alfonso was a brave soldier, but he had no pretensions to be a general, and he lacked not only the skill but the good fortune of his more distinguished brother. His dispositions were unskilfully made, and rashly carried out; the commander was slain in single combat by a Moorish knight in the very first engagement, while his army, dispersed and disorganized, was wellnigh cut to pieces in the mountainous country of the Sierra Bermeja (March 18, 1501). Ferdinand at once assumed the command of such troops as he could hastily collect. The rebels had no leader; and alarmed rather than encouraged by the success of their operations, they disbanded their forces, and sought pardon and peace at the hands of the Catholic king. Ferdinand, whose attention was fully taken up with his intrigues in Italy, was content with the submission of the rebels. The uselessness

Spanish reverses.

The rebels submit.

of armed resistance had been made apparent to the Moors, both in town and country. The Christian sovereigns were free to deal with their unhappy subjects in Granada without fear of resistance or opposition.

Torquemada, the Grand Inquisitor of Spain, had died in 1498; and his successor, Deza, was encouraged by Ximenez to demand at the hands of the Catholic sovereigns the establishment of the Inquisition in Granada. So flagrant a violation of the royal engagements to the subject Moors was at first sight discountenanced by Isabella, who actually refused her sanction to the scheme. But her approbation was easily obtained to an *extension* of the jurisdiction of the Inquisition of Cordova over the entire province of Granada—a happy solution of an embarrassing question of good faith.

The Inquisition established in Granada.

Thus was Granada abandoned to the tender mercies of the dreadful Lucera; and soon afterward all show of toleration was utterly cast away. The policy of *Thorough* had finally prevailed. On the 20th of July, 1501, the sovereigns issued an edict abolishing the faith or the practice of Islam throughout Granada, condemning all nonconformists to death—with the usual addition of confiscation of goods. But even this was not judged sufficient. Less than seven months afterward, on the 12th of February of the year 1502, it was further ordered that the entire Moslem popu-

Islamism proscribed.

All Moslems expelled.

lation, men, women and children of twelve years old and upward, should quit the kingdom within two months; and by a savage refinement of cruelty, the exiles were forbidden on pain of death to emigrate to neighboring Africa, or even to the distant Empire of the Ottoman, where a Moslem population would have received them at least with brotherly pity. As this sanguinary provision was found to have been evaded, a further ordinance was issued on the 17th of September, 1502, decreeing that no one, of any race or religion, should quit the Peninsula for the space of two years, without the express permission of the sovereigns. Shut out thus from every possible refuge, with no alternative but death or baptism, the Moslem submitted, and while he fervently whispered that there was no God but the God of Mohammed, he bowed his head before the uplifted cross of the Inquisitor.

St. Peter's begun.

[Alvarez de Cabral discovers Brazil (1500). Gonsalvo dė Cordova conquers Naples from the French (1503); it is governed by Spanish viceroys till 1700. St. Peter's, at Rome, is begun (1506) by Bramante. The sugar-cane is first brought to Hispaniola from the Canaries (1506). The Council of the Indies is instituted at Seville; Ceylon is discovered by Almeida, and Madagascar by Tristan d'Acunha (1507).]

LEAGUE OF CAMBRAY

(A.D. 1508)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

THE league against Venice, signed at Cambray, on the 10th of December, 1508, by Margaret of Austria, daughter of Maximilian, and the Cardinal d'Amboise, Prime Minister of Louis, was only the completion of the secret treaty of Blois, of the 22d of September, 1504. No offence had been given to justify this perfidious compact. Maximilian, who detested Louis, had the same year endeavored to attack him in the Milanese; but the Venetians refused him a passage; and, after three months' hostilities, the treaty between the Emperor and the Republic was renewed, on the 7th of June, 1508. Louis XII., whom the Venetians defended, and Maximilian, with whom they were reconciled, had no other complaint against them than that they had no king, and that their subjects thus excited the envy of those who had. The two monarchs agreed to divide between them all the terra firma of the Venetians, to abandon to Ferdinand all their fortresses in Apulia, to

Secret treaty of Blois.

at Mestre, on the borders of the Lagune, when suddenly the citizen evinced a courage which the soldier no longer possessed. Treviso, in the month of June, and Padua on the 17th of July, drove out the imperialists; and the banners of St. Mark, which had hitherto constantly retreated, began once again to advance.

The war of the League of Cambray showed the Italians, for the first time, what formidable forces the transalpine nations could bring against them. Maximilian arrived to besiege Padua in the month of September, 1509. He had in his army Germans, Swiss, French, Spaniards, Savoyards; troops of the Pope, of the Marquis of Mantua, and of the Duke of Modena: in all more than 100,000 men, with 100 pieces of cannon. He was, notwithstanding, obliged to raise the siege, on the 3d of October, after many encounters, supported on each side with equal valor. But these barbarians, who came to dispute with the Italians the sovereignty of their country, did not need success to prove their ferocity. After having taken from the poor peasant, or the captive, all that he possessed, they put him to the torture to discover hidden treasure, or to extort ransom from the compassion of friends. In this abuse of brute force, the Germans showed themselves the most savage, the Spaniards the most coldly ferocious. Both were more odious than the French; although the last mentioned

Siege of Padua.

Cruelty of the Germans and Spaniards.

had bands called flayers (écorcheurs), formed in the English wars, and long trained to grind the people.

Pope Julius II. soon began to hate his accomplices in the League of Cambray. Violent and irascible, he had often shown in his fits of passion that he could be as cruel as the worst of them. But he had the soul of an Italian. He could not brook the humiliation of his country, and its being enslaved by those whom he called barbarians. Having recovered the cities of Romagna, the subject of his quarrel with the Venetians, he began to make advances to them. At the end of the first campaign, he entered into negotiations; and on the 21st of February, 1510, granted them absolution. He was aware that he could never drive the barbarians out of Italy but by arming them against each other; and as the French were those whom he most feared, he had recourse to the Germans. It was necessary to begin with reconciling the Venetians to the Emperor; but Maximilian, always ready to undertake everything, and incapable of bringing anything to a conclusion, would not relax in a single article of what he called his rights. As Emperor, he considered himself monarch of all Italy; and, although he was always stopped on its frontier, he refused to renounce the smallest part of what he had purposed conquering. He asserted that the whole Venetian territory had been usurped from the Em-

The Pope grants absolution.

pire; and, before granting peace to the Republic, demanded almost its annihilation.

It was with the aid of the Swiss that the Pope designed to liberate Italy. He admired the valor and piety of that warlike people: he saw, with pleasure, that cupidity had become their ruling passion. The Italians, who needed the defence of the Swiss, were rich enough to pay them; and a wise policy conspired for once with avarice; for the Swiss republics could not be safe if liberty were not re-established in Italy. Louis XII., by his prejudice in favor of nobility, had offended those proud mountaineers whom, even in his own army, he considered only as revolted peasants. Julius II. employed the Bishop of Sion, whom he afterward made cardinal, to irritate them still more against France. In the course of the summer of 1510, the French, according to the plan which Julius had formed, were attacked in the Milanese by the Swiss, in Genoa by the Genoese emigrants, at Modena by the pontifical troops, and at Verona by the Venetians; but, notwithstanding the profound secrecy in which the Pope enveloped his negotiations and intrigues, he could not succeed, as he had hoped, in surprising the French everywhere at the same time. The four attacks were made successively, and repulsed. The Sire de Chaumont, lieutenant of Louis in Lombardy, determined to avenge himself by besieging the Pope in Bologna, in the month

The Swiss hired to liberate Italy.

The French are unsuccessfully attacked.

of October. Julius feigned a desire to purchase peace at any price; but, while negotiating, he caused troops to advance; and, on finding himself the stronger, suddenly changed his language, used threats, and made Chaumont retire. When Chaumont had placed his troops in winter quarters, the Pope, during the greatest severity of the season, attacked the small State of Mirandola, which had put itself under the protection of France; and entered its capital by a breach, on the 20th of January, 1511.

The Pope's troops, commanded by the Duke of Urbino, experienced in the following campaign a signal defeat at Casalecchio, on the 21st of May, 1511. It was called "the day of the ass-drivers," because the French knights returned driving asses before them loaded with booty. The loss of Bologna followed; but Julius II. was not discouraged. His legates labored, throughout Europe, to raise enemies against France. They at last accomplished a League, which was signed on the 5th of October, and which was called Holy, because it was headed by the Pope. It comprehended the kings of Spain and England, the Swiss, and the Venetians. Louis XII., to oppose an ecclesiastical authority to that of the pontiff, convoked, in concert with Maximilian, whom he continued to consider his ally, an ecumenical council. A few cardinals, who had separated from the Pope, clothed it with their au-

The "day of the ass-drivers."

The Holy League.

thority; and Florence dared not refuse to the two greatest monarchs of Europe the city of Pisa for its place of meeting, although the whole population beheld with dread this commencement of a new schism.

The Council of Pisa.

A powerful Spanish army, meanwhile, advanced from Naples, to the aid of the Pope, under the command of Raymond de Cordona; and laid siege to Bologna on the 26th of January, 1512. The French had driven to despair, by their extortions, the people of the provinces which they had seized from Venice. On the 3d of February, Brescia revolted against them. Gaston de Foix, Duc de Nemours, and nephew of Louis XII., had, at the age of twenty-two, been just placed at the head of the French army. With a rapidity ever memorable, he in turn successfully opposed his two enemies. Having, on the 5th of February, entered Bologna, he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege, and make a precipitate retreat through Romagna. He instantly returned to attack the Venetians, and on his road defeated one of their armies. He retook Brescia by assault, on the 19th of February, and punished that unhappy city by a frightful massacre of its inhabitants; but pillage disorganized and corrupted his army, and six weeks elapsed before he could return to Romagna, to oppose the armies of Spain and of the Pope, which had again advanced. He forced them to give battle, near Ravenna, on

Gaston de Foix.

The sack of Brescia.

Easter Sunday, the 11th of April, 1512. It was the most murderous battle that Italy had yet seen: nearly 20,000 dead covered the plain on which it was fought. Gaston de Foix was, for the last time, victorious. The formidable Spanish infantry slowly retreated, without permitting itself to be broken in any part. Gaston, furious at its escaping him, made one last effort against it, and was killed. Death of Gaston.

The death of Gaston proved the signal of the defeat of the French in Italy. The ministers of Louis thought they might, after the battle of Ravenna, safely dismiss a part of their army; but Maximilian, betraying all his engagements, abandoned the French to their enemies. Without consenting to make peace with Venice, he gave passage through his territory to 20,000 Swiss, who were to join the Venetian army, in order to attack the French. He, at the same time, recalled all the Germans who had enlisted under the banner of France. Ferdinand of Aragon and Henry VIIIth of England almost simultaneously attacked Louis, who, to defend himself, was obliged to recall his troops from Italy. In the beginning of June, they evacuated the Milanese, of which the Swiss took possession, in the name of Maximilian Sforza, son of Louis the Moor. On the 29th of the same month, a revolution drove the French out of Genoa; and the Republic and a new doge were again proclaimed. The possessions of France were The French driven from Genoa.

soon reduced to a few small fortresses in that Italy which the French thought they had subdued. But the Italians did not recover their liberty by the defeat of only one of their oppressors. From the yoke of France, they passed under that of the Swiss, the Spaniards, and the Germans; and the last they endured always seemed the most galling. To add to their humiliation, the victory of the Holy League enslaved the last and only republic truly free in Italy.

Florence was connected with France by a treaty concluded in concert with Ferdinand the Catholic. The Republic continued to observe it scrupulously, even after Ferdinand had disengaged himself from it. Florence had fulfilled toward all the belligerent powers the duties of good neighborhood and neutrality, and had given offence to none; but the League, which had just driven the French out of Italy, was already divided in interest, and undecided on the plan which it should pursue. It was agreed only on one point, that of obtaining money. The Swiss lived at discretion in Lombardy, and levied on it the most ruinous contributions: the Spaniards of Raymond de Cordona insisted also on having a province abandoned to their inexorable avidity; Tuscany was rich and not warlike. The victorious powers who had assembled in congress at Mantua proposed to the Florentines to buy themselves off with a contribution; but the

Florence observes her obligations.

Congress of Mantua.

Medici, who presented themselves at this congress, asked to be restored to their country, asserting that they could extract much more money by force, for the use of the Holy League, than a republican government could obtain from the people by gentler means. Raymond de Cordona readily believed them, and in the month of August, 1512, accompanied them across the Apennines, with 5,000 Spanish infantry as inaccessible to pity as to fear. Raymond sent forward to tell the Florentines that if they would preserve their liberty, they must recall the Medici, displace the gonfalonier Soderini, and pay the Spanish army 40,000 florins. He arrived at the same time before the small town of Prato, which shut its gates against him: it was well fortified, but defended only by the *ordinanza,* or country militia. On the 30th of August, the Spaniards made a breach in the wall, which these peasants basely abandoned. The city was taken by assault; the militia, which would have incurred less danger in fighting valiantly, were put to the sword: 5,000 citizens were afterward massacred, and others, divided among the victors, were put to lingering tortures, either to force them to discover where they had concealed their treasure, or to oblige their kinsmen to ransom them out of pity; the Spaniards having already pillaged all they could discover in holy as well as profane places.

The Medici good tax-gatherers.

Massacre of Prato.

The terror caused at Florence by the news

of the massacre of Prato produced next day a revolution. A company of young nobles, belonging to the most illustrious families, who, under the title of Society of the Garden Ruccellai, were noted for their love of the arts, of luxury and pleasure, took possession, on the 31st of August, of the public palace; they favored the escape of Soderini, and sent to tell Raymond de Cordona that they were ready to accept the conditions which he offered. But all treaties with tyrants are deceptions. Giuliano de' Medici, the third son of Lorenzo, whose character was gentle and conciliatory, entered Florence on the 2d of September, and consented to leave many of the liberties of the Republic untouched. His brother, the Cardinal Giovanni, afterward Leo X., who did not enter till the 14th of the same month, forced the signoria to call a parliament on the 16th. In this pretended assembly of the sovereign people, few were admitted except strangers and soldiers: all the laws enacted since the expulsion of the Medici in 1494 were abolished. A balia, composed only of the creatures of that family, was invested with the sovereignty of the Republic. This balia showed itself abjectly subservient to the Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici, his brother Giuliano, and their nephew Lorenzo, who now returned to Florence after eighteen years of exile, during which they had lost every republican habit, and all sympathy with their fellow-citizens.

Society of the Garden Ruccellai.

Return of the Medici.

None of them had legitimate children; but they brought back with them three bastards—Giulio, afterward Clement VII., Ippolito, and Alessandro,—who had all a fatal influence on the destiny of their country. Their fortune, formerly colossal, was dissipated in their long exile; and their first care, on returning to Florence, was to raise money for themselves, as well as for the Spaniards who had re-established their tyranny.

Their fatal influence.

CONQUESTS OF MEXICO AND PERU

(A.D. 1510—1535)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE beautiful isles discovered by Columbus had been colonized, especially Haiti and Cuba; where the Spanish settlers portioned out the Indian inhabitants among themselves, professing to intend their conversion and training in Christian habits, but, in general, making them suffer a hard and cruel bondage. When the poor creatures ran away they were tracked by bloodhounds, animals of high sagacity, and sometimes less cruel than their masters. Leonillo, one of these hounds, could distinguish a domestic Indian from a runaway, and when by an inhuman trick he was set upon a poor old Indian woman, who had been deceived by being charged with a mock letter for the governor, he desisted from the attack on her crouching to him, showing the letter, and he could not be prevailed upon to hurt her.

Cruelties of the Spaniards.

These cruelties were protested against by the excellent Fra Antonio Montesinos and the Dominican Friars; but, strange to relate, the

Franciscans took the part of the oppressors, and justified them, declaring that to forbid them to enslave the Indians would be the same as to deny them the use of their cattle. Of all the friends of this unhappy race, the most noted was Fra Bartolomé de Las Casas, the Apostle of the Indians, who spent his life in trying to alleviate their miseries, bring them to the Christian faith, and obtain for them the protection of the state. Unfortunately, in the hope of relieving the Indians, Las Casas devised the transplanting negroes to the West Indies, as being hardier and more fit to endure labor. He little thought that he was preparing the way for greater atrocities than those he sought to prevent.

The Apostle of the Indians.

The Spanish governors of these islands were usually violent and avaricious men. Indeed, the thirst for treasure was the chief motive for the western voyage, and a vision of an El Dorado, or golden city, drew on adventurer after adventurer. Honduras and Darien were settled, and a runaway spendthrift named Vasco Nunez de Balboa, who had been smuggled on board ship in a cask, was the first to lead a little band through countless toils and dangers across the Northern Andes, and to behold the great Pacific Ocean. He rushed into the waves with drawn sword, proclaiming that he took possession of it, and all that it contained, for his lord, the King of Castile. This was in 1511.

Discovery of the Pacific Ocean.

Cortes conquers Mexico.

In 1519, Fernando Cortés, a Spanish hidalgo, in whom a high spirit of religious zeal, honor, and loyalty was alloyed by Spanish cruelty, left the Havana in Cuba with a little fleet, and at the head of 600 men penetrated into the Aztec empire, held by a highly civilized and by no means cowardly race. Mexico, the capital, placed high on the table-land, upon islands in the midst of a beautiful lake, was one of the loveliest cities in the world, full of fine buildings and beautiful gardens. The history of the Aztecs was represented in a gorgeous mosaic of feathers, to supply the want of letters, and their government was powerful and well regulated; but their religion was polluted by frightful human sacrifices, offered on the summit of terraced pyramids, which served as temples. Cortés and his companions were horror-struck, and deemed that they were doing a holy work in warring on the perpetrators of such abominations. Their deeds were most daring, and often their peril was extreme, but the use of fire-arms gave them an advantage which enabled them finally to prevail.

Death of Montezuma.

The unfortunate Emperor, Montezuma, placed himself in their hands, and was killed by an arrow shot by some of his own subjects, who continued their resistance. His relative and heir, Guatemozin, was made prisoner and tortured to death, and Mexico, or New Spain, was added to the dominions of Charles.

Much treasure, both in gold and silver, was gathered in Mexico, but it did not fulfil the expectations of the greedy Spaniards, and their eyes still turned to the south. Francisco Pizarro, a fierce and resolute soldier, who had once been a swineherd in Estramadura, got together a party of men such as himself, and sailing from Panama found his way to the valleys of the higher Andes, Peru, namely, a place more nearly golden than any yet discovered. Francisco Pizarro.

Gold and silver were the only metals of the gentle race that dwelt there, and they were used for the common purposes of life, not as money, which was unknown among the people.

Their gods were the Sun and Moon. The temple of the first was completely lined and furnished with gold, and adorned with a resplendent orb of that metal, while the Moon's lesser temple was all of silver. The worship consisted of prayers, holidays, rejoicings, and offerings of flowers, with no such bloody rites as had disgraced Mexico. The royal race, the Incas, were believed to be Children of the Sun, and ruled over their subjects with an absolute but paternal sway. Everything was the property of the Incas: the people, the llamas (their only quadrupeds), and the fields, which were highly cultivated with maize. The crops were gathered in with great rejoicings, stored in the Inca's barns, whence grain was dis- The Incas.

tributed to the householders, and so, again, was the wool of the llamas, and whatever besides was needed, while the royal officers directed the industry of this great family in tillage, in weaving, and in making wonderful causeways over the precipices and ravines of the Andes.

On this happy people burst the coarse and savage Spanish desperadoes, unchecked by remorse, and deeming outrages on the heathen a virtue. The Peruvians were no warriors, and their feeble resistance only sufficed to inflame the cruelty of their enemies. Atahualpa, the last of the Incas, was burned alive, and the beautiful city of Cuzco became the scene of horrible slaughter and rapacity. The recklessness of the conquerors may be understood from the fact that one of the soldiers who had seized the great golden image of the sun played it away in one night of gaming.

Their feeble resistance.

Pizarro was created a Marquis, and became governor of the country he had made desolate. He was a hardy, resolute man, of great ability, though of no education, never having even learned to write, and there was nothing to soften the fierce nature that had been let loose on the unfortunate Peruvians. He founded the city of Lima, and ruled for some years, but gave great offence to his fellow-adventurers, and was murdered by some of them.

City of Lima founded.

The country was found to abound in silver

mines, with here and there veins of gold; and ships freighted with these treasures sailed every season for Spain, which was overloaded with plate and jewels, but soon became an example of the ruin brought by riches, won by iniquity. The wealth of Peru never seemed to be of any use; the Spanish kings were always crippled by distress for money, and the only effect of the heaps of treasure was a slow but sure decay and corruption.

Riches of the country.

BATTLE OF FLODDEN FIELD

(A.D. 1513)

ANDREW LANG

A VAST army met on the Borough Moor, Highlanders, Islesmen, Lowlanders (August 13-20, 1513), and, on August 22, "King James was o'er the Border." Wark and Eital castles he took, and, after a siege of five days, made himself master of Norham (August 29). This castle (whose very ruins are of great size and strength, showing wall and trench within wall and trench) is perched on a steep cliff, now covered with wood, above the Tweed. James is said to have had good intelligence from within that the place was weakest, from the crumbling of the soil, where the scaur was most precipitous. Having possessed himself of this strength (a castle of the Bishop of Durham's), which he could not safely leave in his rear, James took Etal, Chillingham, and Ford, which stands on a height above Till, and within scarcely more than a mile of Flodden ridge, across the Till on the north. On Flodden ridge James (who knew of Surrey's approach, and had no time to besiege Berwick) fixed his

James crosses the border.

Encampment on Flodden ridge.

camp, placing for three or four days his head-quarters at Ford Castle. James's sole object was, by making a diversion, to cause Henry VIII. to conclude a peace with France. He wisely lured Surrey as far as possible from his base. There were some negotiations as to sparing Ford Castle, between Lady Heron, James, and Surrey, who was now (September 3) approaching with the Stanleys from the south by Newcastle and Alnwick. These dealings are all the historical facts behind Pitscottie's and Buchanan's legend that James was distinguished by Lady Heron; and (*teste Pitscottio*) his son, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, by her daughter, of whom no trace has been discovered by genealogists. It is conceivable that, in the three or four days of James's stay at Ford, Lady Heron gave the King some encouragement; and it is probable that she gave Surrey some information. From Alnwick, Surrey sent his insulting challenge by Rouge Croix: he had been joined by his equally insolent son with a force of sailors, while La Motte, the French ambassador, was with James. On Monday, September 5, the Scots began to demolish Ford Castle: a tower with the King's rooms, so called, still exists. James now retired to his well-chosen camp on the crest of Flodden. He had secured his flank, by taking the castles, and had caused a diversion favorable to France, which was all that he intended. The English were some 40,

Object of the invasion.

Surrey's insulting challenge.

The Scots demolish Ford Castle.

000, the Scots perhaps 60,000 men. Desertions are talked of, but the Scots were well provisioned, while Surrey's men, marching, much discontented, under heavy rains, were reduced to drinking water, which no English force could endure. The English army pitched their tents in Wooler haugh, a plain about six miles to the right of Flodden crest.

Disadvantages of the English.

Beholding the impregnable position of James, Surrey, on September 7, requested him to descend to a fair field on the plain. The King replied that "he would take and keep his ground and field at his own pleasure." Surrey then (September 8) put Till between him and the enemy, and marched, possibly behind a ridge of hills, to Barmoor wood, which is north of Flodden, where he encamped in very great discomfort from rain and lack of liquor. James probably supposed that he was marching on the road to Berwick. According to Holinshed, it was Lord Thomas Howard who

Surrey crosses Till.

now advised his father, Surrey, to cross Till again, and, by a detour, place himself on James's rear. He could thus either force James to leave his hold, or cut off his communications with Scotland. By noon, on Friday, the English van and artillery had crossed Till by Twizel Bridge, which James could not (I venture to think) see from Flodden, while Surrey, with the rearguard, crossed by Millford.

The English now advanced due south

THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

From the painting by Kaulbach

—Vol. IV, pages 1105-1117

against Flodden. They found a kind of natural causeway through a swamp, and moved on toward Branxton hill. This is the middle of three ridges, like a gigantic staircase, descending from Flodden (on the north) to the level of Tweed. James might have sat still on Flodden ridge, and awaited Surrey's attack, if attack he did. James was well provisioned; not so Surrey, who could not have long maintained his position or kept his men together. He appears, according to a letter of the Regency of James V. (Jan. 16, 1514), to have known nothing of the English approach till just before evening, when *Angli se ostentant*.. Having lost touch of Surrey, he could not stop him at Twizel Bridge, as Scott supposes, in *Marmion*. James, on detecting the English approach, fired his camp, and, under cover of the smoke, descended from Flodden to Branxton ridge. His army was arrayed in five bodies, the King's in the centre, the four sets of double companies stretching out from it and forward, "like horns." Paolo Giovio uses here the very phrase of Zulu warfare; the King's force is the "head," the four other bodies in advance on either side are the "horns." Each advanced body probably consisted of two battalions, under Home and Huntly, Crawford and Errol, D'Aussi and Bothwell, Lennox and Argyll. Home's Border spears and Huntly's Gordons, Errol's and Crawford's men from Perthshire, Fife, and

The battle-ground.

Arrangement of the Scottish forces.

the Merse, were on the Scots' left, then the royal division in the centre, with Bothwell's, and the Celtic levies of Argyll and Lennox, on the right of the Scots. In perfect silence, barefoot, because of the slipperiness of the wet hillside, the Scots descended, and the Admiral, on the English right, sent to Surrey to bring up his rearguard. Edmund Howard's force was most advanced, and was charged by Home and Huntly. Dacre, advancing to support Edmund, was deserted by his Tynemouth men. Brian Tunstal fell, the Cheshire levies were wavering, when Dacre checked Home and drove off Huntly's men. It is said that Home's Borderers began to plunder: their whole conduct is mysterious.

The combat.

Meanwhile the Admiral, in the centre of the vanguard, clashed with Crawford and Errol. Crawford fell, Rothes was slain, Errol's command was broken by the Percys. James now threw his centre against that of Surrey. The English artillery mowed down his charging spears, while the Scottish guns, ill-worked, were silent or useless. Attended by Herries and Maxwell, James appears to have made straight for the English standard, and for Surrey himself, described (by Pitscottie) as a decrepit creature in a chariot. While the central ranks of England reeled under James's charge, the Admiral and Dacre, successful in their own affairs, fell on the flank of the Scottish centre, which was now aided by Both-

Superiority of the English Artillery.

well, with the forces of the Lothians. The ancestors of Know may here have fought under the Lions and the Rose of Hepburn. Meanwhile, "Stanley broke Lennox and Argyll": the Celts, as at Fontenoy, charged "like furies," but in vain. Lennox and Argyll fell like heroes on the right, while their men fled. Meanwhile the Scottish centre maintained that desperate battle of spears against the deadly sweep of the English bills, odds which Scott has made immortal—

Vain charge of the Celts.

> "The stubborn spearmen still made good
> Their dark impenetrable wood,"

even while Stanley, too wise to pursue the fleet-footed Highlanders, threw his forces also into the mass which assailed the peers of Scotland and the King. Rear, flank, and front of the Scottish centre were now attacked by footmen and horsemen, lances and bills. James fought his way within a lance's length of Surrey, as Surrey confessed, and there died, his body riddled with arrows, his left hand hanging helpless, his neck deeply gashed by bill or blade. But his lords and men, as at Neville's Cross, pressed forward round the King, who had died before their front rank, and night fell while the "dark impenetrable wood" of spears was yet unbroken.

Death of James.

Morning found the hill deserted, the artillery unguarded; but the Scots under Home had to be scattered by a discharge of cannon before they abandoned a chance to plunder.

Capture of the Scottish guns.

The English in the morning captured the seventeen deserted pieces of Scottish artillery, which had been silenced at the beginning of the battle, says Hall. They were on a height, and the Scottish gunners may have been unskilled in firing at objects below them. Moreover, the fighting at Flodden was hand to hand, after a brief artillery duel, and it was impossible to shoot into a melley of friends and foes. A letter from the Bishop of Durham, whose castle of Norham had been ruined, adds a few details of the fight. It was won, not by archery, as it was natural to suppose, but by the sweep of the English bills, which sliced off the points of the long spears in which the Scots put their trust. The arrows, the Bishop declares, did not harm the armed nobles, "such large and strong men that they would not fall when four or five bills struck one of them." The Borderers, we learn on this good authority, plundered during the battle —plundered both sides. They were led by Home, presently to be a world's wonder for his treachery—a friend of Angus—and the Bishop's letter justifies the legendary contempt of Home which is expressed in ballad verse—

Details of the fight.

Home's treachery.

"Up wi' the Sutors o' Selkirk,
And down wi' the Earl o' Home."

The saddest circumstance is that the English had been deprived of beer for three days, and could hardly have endured another day of

drought; while it is melancholy to think that if the Scots, on Flodden side, had sat still, drinking their beer, which the learned Bishop highly commends, the force of Surrey, unvictualled, would have melted like a mist.

The English found thirteen earls dead in a ring around the body of their prince: the Archbishop of St. Andrews, his young son, had also fallen with the Bishops of Caithness and the Isles. With these clerics died many lords and chiefs, while the song attests the slaughter among the yeomanry and burgesses: "The Flowers o' the Forest are a' wede awa." This defeat was the great sorrow of Scotland, and, even now, in any national misfortune, people say, "There has not been the like since Flodden." But no defeat bore less of dishonor, no battle lost by chivalrous folly was ever so well redeemed by desperate valor, and no fight since chariots charged on the plains of windy Troy has been so chanted by a descendant of the Flowers of the Forest.

"The Flowers of the Forest."

They carried back their banner, as tradition runs, to the little town of Selkirk, where a yearly ceremony keeps alive the recollection of their immortal defeat. The Scots long cherished the inevitable hope that their brave King had not died,—like Arthur, he would come again. But his dust wastes in England, and his sword and dagger are now in the College of Arms in London, glorious spoils of war. It had been well if his descendants at

The banner preserved.

Edgehill, Montrose, and Culloden had known, as the fourth James knew, how a king should die.

Sultan of Egypt slain by Selim.

[The Mameluke Sultan of Egypt is defeated and slain near Aleppo by Selim, who adds Syria, Palestine and Egypt to his dominions. France concludes treaties of peace with the Swiss, Spain and the Emperor (1516). Hayraddin Barbarossa, who has seized Algiers, etc., begins the piracies for which the Barbary States soon become notorious (1518).]

THE REFORMATION

(A.D. 1517—1540)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

THERE were Protestants before Luther. Paulinus of Aquileia in the days of Charlemagne; the Albigenses in sunny Languedoc; the Waldenses in the valleys of Piedmont; John Wycliffe in England; Huss and Jerome, the Bohemians, who perished in the flames at Constance; and Savonarola, who met the same fate at Florence,—all nobly deserved the noble name. Early Protestants.

But it was not until the printing-presses of Gutenberg and Faust and Caxton had multiplied books, especially the Bible, a thousandfold, and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks had scattered far and wide the Greeks and their language,—thus giving to the West the key to the right understanding of the New Testament,—that Central Europe, in the gray dawn of a new era, could see the shackles laid on her by Rome, and summon all her might to tear them from her burdened limbs.

Then, in the fulness of the time, Martin Luther arose, and, somewhat later, John Cal-

vin and Ulric Zwingle, the three leaders of the Continental Reformation. Grouped round these three grand central figures stood a little band of brave spirits, foremost among whom were Melancthon, the friend of Luther, Lefevre and Farel, the associates of Calvin.

Three central figures.

Luther, the son of a miner, was born at Eisleben in Saxony in December, 1483. While at school in Eisenach he used to sing in the streets for bread,—a custom which was common among the German students. Entering the University of Erfurt, he took his degree in 1505: he was then twenty-two.

Luther's early days.

Toward the close of his college life, which was free and jovial, three events stirred his mind powerfully:—he found in the library a Latin Bible; a dear friend died; and he himself was sick nigh unto death. Calling his fellow-students around him one night, he entertained them at a merry supper; and scarcely had they left his lodging, when he stood knocking at the door of the Augustine convent with two books in his hand—a Virgil and a Plautus. His three years within the cloisters of Erfurt were spent in terrible mental struggles, and in vain attempts to gain peace by monkish fastings and penances. It was not until the advice of Staupitz, his Vicar-General, directed him to the Bible and the works of St. Augustine that Luther began to see light.

Mental struggles.

In 1508, Luther was appointed Professor of Philosophy in the University of Witten-

berg. There he won renown as a bold and original preacher. The little old wooden chapel of the convent could not hold his audience. The great idea of the Reformation was now taking full possession of his soul. So strong was its influence, that when he went to Rome in 1510 or 1511, on a certain mission, and tried to climb Pilate's staircase on his knees as an act of penance, his conscience never ceased to thunder in his soul, "The just shall live by faith." The Rome of that day he found to be a hot-bed of infidelity, blasphemy, and crime. In 1512, he was made Doctor of Divinity. So far we have traced the outlines of his preparation; now for his great work.

Luther in Rome.

Leo X., in want of money to build St. Peter's at Rome, authorized the sale of indulgences. John Tetzel, a Dominican monk, arrived within a few miles of Wittenberg with a bundle of these paper lies, and the simple country-folk of Saxony crowded round his counter to buy. With brow of brass and lungs of leather, he shouted all day long the wonderful powers of the indulgence. "Drop a penny in my box for some poor wretch in purgatory," said he, "and the moment it clinks on the bottom, the freed soul flies up to heaven." Luther heard of these things, and saw their effect upon some of his own flock, who, believing themselves pardoned by the indulgence they had bought, refused to submit to his direction. He felt the time had come for the first blow in a mo-

Tetzel and indulgences

mentous struggle. "God willing," said he, "I will beat a hole in his drum."

The ninety-five theses.

Then, shaping his belief on the subject of the indulgences into ninety-five theses or propositions, he sent a copy of them to the Archbishop of Magdeburg; and on the same day—that which we call Hallow-Eve—he nailed another copy, signed with his name, on the gate of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. In these theses Luther did not altogether deny the power of the Church to grant absolution; but he maintained that, unless there was real contrition on the part of the sinner, an indulgence was of no avail. This public defiance was the starting-point of the Reformation. The news ran with lightning speed through Germany and Europe.

Tetzel's counter theses.

Tetzel, retiring to Frankfort-on-the-Oder, issued a list of counter theses, maintaining the infallibility and the supreme authority of the Pope. These were burned by the students of Wittenberg, who entered heart and soul into the cause of their professor. Pope Leo, a literary and architectural amateur, heard a buzz in Germany, but treated it lightly, as a monkish quarrel. "This Luther," said he, "is a man of genius; he writes well."

Cajetan, the papal legate, a smooth and subtle Italian, was foiled in an attempt to make Luther retract at a conference held at Augsburg. Miltitz, a German, had apparently better success,—having enticed Luther into

a conditional promise to keep silence upon the disputed points.

The disputation of Leipsic. The disputation of Leipsic, however, proved that Luther had not merely drawn the sword, but had flung away the scabbard. When that man, of middle size, so thin as to seem mere skin and bone, yet with nothing forbidding or sad in his bright happy face, mounted the platform in the royal hall of Duke George, with a bouquet of flowers in his hand, those who sat around—the noblest and wisest and most learned in the land—must have wondered at the daring of the solitary monk. Dr. Eck, Professor of Divinity at Ingolstadt, a man noted through all Germany for skill in controversy, was his rival. Taking his stand upon the text, "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," Eck maintained the supremacy of the Pope. Luther, applying the word "rock" to Christ, contended that he was the sole and absolute head of the Church. So the fencing went on for days, and they parted, each claiming the victory.

Eck champions Papal supremacy.

During the following summer Luther published a few pages of an address to the Christian nobles of Germany, in which, with that strong, blunt speech that he was noted for, he characterized the seat of Papacy as a devil's nest. His work "On the Babylonish Captivity of the Church" followed in autumn.

At length the thunder of Rome broke forth. A bull was published, declaring Luther a her-

etic, ordering his writings to be burned, and summoning him to Rome within sixty days. The crisis had come, and bravely the monk of Saxony met it. One winter day, gathering the students and townsfolk of Wittenberg to the Elster Gate, he cast the Papal bull, a document once so potent and terrible, into the flames of a fire of wood.

Burning of the Papal bull.

A few months later, he set out for Worms, where the young Emperor Charles V. was holding his first Diet of the German States. Greatly had the soul of Luther rejoiced when he received a summons to plead his cause in so proud a presence. He journeyed slowly, crowds thronging round his coach, and joyous music welcoming him at every stage. Friendly warnings met him; a heavy sickness seized him on the way; yet still he pressed undaunted on. And when the roofs and spires of Worms rose in view, standing up in his carriage, he sang the famous hymn, *Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott,* which has ever since borne his name. That night till very late his inn was thronged with nobles and scholars. But when all were gone, alone upon his knees, he sobbed out a broken prayer, casting himself at this hour of great need entirely upon the help of God. Next day, as the April sun was near its setting, he came before the Emperor, who sat enthroned among his splendid courtiers. It was a striking contrast—a pale monk against a brilliant court. As at Leipsic, his cheek was

Diet of Worms.

thin; but there was that within his heart which could brave the dark looks of the red-robed cardinals and violet-clad bishops, the sneers of dressy Spaniards, or the wrath of the great Emperor himself. Eck rose to ask him if he would retract his works. Luther required a day to prepare his reply; and next day he closed a two hours' speech in German and in Latin thus: "Unless I be convinced by Scripture and reason, I neither can nor dare retract anything; for my conscience is a captive to God's word, and it is neither safe nor right to go against conscience. Here I take my stand; I can do no otherwise. So help me God." He was then dismissed from Worms, the Emperor having declared his resolve to treat him as a heretic. Luther's own epitome, in a letter to a friend, of the proceedings of these three momentous days is a gem of condensation. "Are the books yours?"—"Yes."—"Will you revoke, or not?"—"No."—"Get you gone then."

Luther stands firm.

On his way home he was seized by a band of armed men in masks, and carried to the Castle of the Wartburg up among the mountains. This is said to have been done by his friend the Elector of Saxony to keep him out of harm's way. There he lived for about a year disguised as a knight, rambling, hunting, and writing. During this retirement he began his great work, the translation of the Bible into German. Before he left Wartburg he

The Castle of the Wartburg.

Luther translates the New Testament.

had finished the New Testament; but the entire work was not completed until 1534. The news that Carlstadt and other extreme Reformers were carrying things with a high hand at Wittenberg, smashing images, and seeking to banish from the University all books but the Bible, called Luther down from the mountains. Then came a controversy with Carlstadt, who was forced to flee from Saxony to Switzerland. A quarrel between Luther and Erasmus occurred about the same time.

He marries.

In 1524, Luther threw off his monk's dress; in the following year he married Catherine Von Bora, an escaped nun. About the same time the Peasants' War, excited by the Anabaptists under Munzer, arose in the Black Forest, and raged throughout the Rhine provinces, ending in the slaughter of fifty thousand people. Luther, whose enemies blamed him for this outbreak, took the rashness of the misguided peasants deeply to heart, and inveighed bitterly against their mad actions.

In 1529, the Landgrave of Hesse, desirous of a union between the Reformers of Germany and Switzerland, invited Luther and Zwingle to meet at Marburg.

Ulric Zwingle.

Zwingle was born in 1484—a Swiss farmer's son. He saw service early in life, as chaplain to the Swiss troops in Italy. After he was settled as a preacher at home, the sale of indulgences excited his anger at Einsiedlen, as it had ex-

cited Luther's at Wittenberg. At Zurich, somewhat later, he preached reform more boldly still, and won for that canton the honor of being the first to embrace the pure doctrines of Protestantism. His great mistake as a Reformer was the attempt to mix politics with religion—to reform the State while he purified the Church.

When the Swiss and the Saxon met at Marburg, they differed upon the subject of the Lord's Supper. Luther maintained the doctrine of consubstantiation, in which he was a steadfast believer; Zwingle verged to the opposite extreme; and they parted, no great friends. Two years later, in a war between the Reformed and the Romish cantons, Zwingle, whose warlike spirit led him to join the ranks of the Zurichers, was killed in the battle of Cappel.

Luther and Zwingle disagree.

A diet was held at Spires in the spring of 1529, partly to raise forces for the Turkish war, and partly to settle, if possible, the religious differences of the nation. The Romish party having drawn up a decree in favor of their creed, the Lutherans gave in their famous "Protest," from which they were henceforth called Protestants. The names of the Elector of Saxony, the Margrave of Brandenburg, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Lünenburg, the Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of fourteen cities, were affixed to this document.

Diet of Spires.

Diet of Augsburg.

Next year a great assembly of princes met at Augsburg. Luther was not there, but Melancthon was; and to this gentle friend of the brave Reformer fell the task of reading the celebrated Confession of the Protestant Faith. In twenty-one articles the belief of Protestants was summed up; the remaining seven were devoted to the errors of Rome. The document was written by Melancthon, but much of the matter was Luther's. Although this Confession was condemned by the Diet of Augsburg, the determined attitude of the Protestants made the decision of little use. The Emperor wavered, not willing to estrange so powerful a section of the German nation. The league of Protestants at Smalcald and Frankfort gave new strength to the cause of truth, and the Emperor, whose grand object then was to lead all Germany into the field against the Turks, annulled the proceedings of the Diets held at Worms and Augsburg. This victory of Protestantism marks, for the time at least, the close of the struggle.

Last days of Luther.

Luther lived until 1546, writing and teaching at Wittenberg. Every year saw the doctrines, for which he had so stoutly contended, spreading more widely. There was much to vex him in the perils which still beset the cause, and in the follies of some of its friends; but within his little home there was peace. While visiting his native town, Eisleben, to reconcile the Counts of Mansfield, he died after a

short illness. As he said himself, "The world is weary of me; and I of the world."

No sketch of the Reformation would be complete without a notice of John Calvin. Born in 1509, at Noyon in Picardy, he received his education chiefly in the schools of Paris, and afterward attended law classes at Orleans and Bruges. The study of the Bible, and the conversation of two friends first opened his mind to the truths of the Reformed faith, while he was a student at Orleans; and his association at Bruges with the Professor of Greek, Melchior Wolmar, deepened his convictions of Romish error. To teach religion then became his grand desire. After many vain efforts to teach the Reformed doctrines peacefully in France, we find him an exile at Basle. There, in 1535, he published the first outline of his great work, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion,* which was undoubtedly the book of the Reformation, and is still a standard text-book in some of our schools. After a stay of some time in Italy, and a short visit to France, he settled in Geneva in the summer of 1536.

John Calvin.

Here he became teacher and preacher of theology; and in conjunction with Farel framed a Confession of Faith for the citizens: who were, however, scarcely yet prepared for the strict, and, as some thought, over-rigid discipline which he sought to establish. A hostile party accordingly arose, known as the Lib-

The Libertines.

ertines, whose influence grew strong enough to banish Calvin and Farel from the city.

Strasburg was Calvin's refuge; and during his three quiet years of literary and pastoral labor in that city he married. His strong interest in the Genevans was shown by two remarkable letters, written from Strasburg, to strengthen them in the Protestant faith. The completion of the *Institutes* in 1539, too, marks this green resting-place in a troubled life.

Calvin is recalled.

Late in 1540, he received a letter from the Council of Geneva, entreating him to return; and in the autumn of the following year he obeyed the call. He lost no time in laying down a code of laws, regulating, not the Church only, but the minutest details of every-day life.

The rest of Calvin's hard-working life was spent in this city, which became a great centre of the Reformation. Controversy filled up his days, for enemies were thick around him.

He expels the Libertines.

After a long struggle, he expelled the Libertines from the city. By many he is supposed to have given his sanction to the burning of the Spaniard Servetus, who denied the doctrine of the Trinity,—a circumstance which, if true, only affords another melancholy proof that even the greatest and purest spirits can not always rise above the prevailing spirit and rooted prejudices of the age in which they live.

After much suffering from gout and other diseases, this great man died, one evening in May, just as the sun was setting. His frame was meagre, and rather low-sized: his sallow face told of hard study and rigorous self-denial.

Death of Calvin.

FIRST VOYAGE AROUND THE WORLD

(A.D. 1519—1522)

RICHARD HENRY MAJOR

FERNAM DE MAGALHAENS, better known by the Spanish form of his name, Magellan, was of noble Portuguese parentage, but we know little for certain of his early youth, except that he was brought up in the household of Queen Leonora, the wife of Dom Joao II. The instruction in mathematics and geography which he would there receive would be of an advanced kind, as at that time these sciences, which had received large development in Portugal under the auspices of Prince Henry, were taught by the two eminent Jews, named Josef and Rodrigo. His sojourn in India and his campaigns in the extreme East, enabled him to gather information on which he afterward based his memorable enterprise.

Career of Magellan.

After his return from the East, Magalhaens served in Africa, and during a razzia at Azamor, was wounded in the knee, from which wound he remained lame all the rest of his life. In the distribution of some cattle then

captured some disagreement arose, which led to complaints against him at court, and to much dissatisfaction. Conceiving himself unjustly treated by the King in the matter of these complaints and the mode of their reception, Magalhaens resolved to renounce his nationality, and to leave Portugal. His experience in navigation, and his acquaintance with the geography of the Moluccas, made him an acceptable visitor to Charles V., who was then but just returned from Flanders. Magalhaens arrived in Seville on the 20th of October, 1517, accompanied by two other malcontents, Rui Faleiro, a learned cosmographer, and Christovam de Haro, a wealthy merchant, who already possessed immense commercial relations with India. The Papal Bull of Alexander VI., which had determined that a line drawn from pole to pole a hundred leagues west of the Azores should be the boundary between the claims of Spain and Portugal, was practically indecisive on account of the difficulty of measuring longitudes. Nor were matters improved by the Convention of 1494, in which the line of demarcation was removed to three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores, for though Portugal thereby gained in South America, Spain became also a considerable gainer in the East, the sea way to which had been first opened up by Portugal. The Moluccas formed, moreover, the very garden of those

Magellan renounces his nationality.

Conflicting claims.

spices, the commerce of which was so eagerly coveted. Magalhaens gave it as his opinion that the Moluccas fell within the Spanish boundary, and undertook to take a fleet thither by the south of the American continent. The position of Magalhaens at Seville was strengthened by his marriage, in January, 1518, with the daughter of his relative, Diogo Barbosa, with whom he had taken up his quarters, and who had sailed to the Indies in 1501 under the order of Juan de Nova. He was now Commander of the Order of Santiago, and lieutenant to the alcaide of the Castle of Seville. Magalhaens had further the good fortune to secure the friendship and aid of Juan de Ovando, the principal factor of the Contratacion, or chamber of commerce. To the latter was mainly owing the arrangement with the Emperor for that great expedition which was afterward to hold so distinguished a position in the history of nautical discovery.

Position of Magellan in Spain.

In August, 1519, Charles V. gave Magalhaens five ships, with the rank of Captain-General, and it is remarkable that every one of the vessels was accompanied by a Portuguese pilot. The *Trinidad*, of one hundred and twenty tons, on board of which Magalhaens hoisted his flag, had Stevam Gomez for pilot; the *San Antonio,* also of one hundred and twenty tons, commanded by Juan de Cartagena, had indeed a Spaniard, Andres de San Martin, for pilot, but he was accompanied by

Magellan's fleet.

the Portuguese pilot, João Rodrigues de la Mafra; the *Concepcion,* of ninety tons, commanded by Gaspar de Quesada, had for pilot the Portuguese, João Lopez de Caraballo; the *Vittoria,* of eighty-five tons, under the command of Luis de Mendoza, was piloted by the Portuguese, Vasco Gallejo; and the *Santiago,* of seventy-five tons, was commanded by João Serrao, a Portuguese pilot, on whose skill and knowledge of the East, especially of the Moluccas, of which they were in search, Magalhaens placed great reliance.

The fleet, which consisted of two hundred and sixty-five persons, set sail from San Lucar de Barrameda on the 21st of September, 1519, and reached what is now called Rio de Janeiro on the 13th of December. Magalhaens named it Porto de Santa Lucia. Thence they came to the Rio de la Plata, where at first they supposed they had found a channel to the Pacific; but giving up this hope, they proceeded south, and on the 31st of March, 1520, entered Port St. Julian, where Magalhaens stayed five months. Magellan sets sail.

After taking possession of the country for the King of Spain, by erecting a cross on a hill which they named Monte Christo, the ships set sail on the 24th of August, leaving Juan de Cartagena and Sanchez de Reino on shore, with a supply of bread and wine. Finding in the river of Santa Cruz a great abundance of fish, with wood and water, the fleet put in

there till the 18th of October, when they proceeded southward, and on the 21st reached a cape, from which the coast turned directly due west. In honor of the day, which was the feast of Saint Ursula, they named the cape Cabo de las Virgenes (Cape of the Virgins). Magalhaens then sent on two small ships to explore the inlet, but not to be absent more than five days. At the end of that time they returned with the report that while one of them had only found some bays containing many shoals, the other had sailed three days westward without finding an end to the strait, and that the tide was stronger when it flowed westward than when it ran to the east. This news was so encouraging that the whole fleet entered the channel.

Explorations on the coast of South America.

In consequence of many fires being seen on the southern shore of the strait, Magalhaens named that country Tierra del Fuego (the Land of Fire).

As they proceeded westward another arm of the sea toward the southeast made its appearance and invited examination, and the *San Antonio* was sent to explore it, with orders to return in three days. As six days passed without her reappearance, the *Vittoria* went in search of her, and subsequently the whole fleet; but as no sign appeared of her, it was concluded that she had sailed for Spain, as afterward proved to be the case. The fleet now resumed its course westward, and on the

The *San Antonio* deserts.

27th of November, 1520, thirty-seven days after the discovery of the eastern entrance, emerged from the strait into an open sea. The cape which terminated the strait at the westward on Tierra del Fuego was named Cabo Deseado (the Desired Cape), and that inflexible man, whom neither danger could deter nor death intimidate, is said to have wept tears of gratitude as he beheld this realization of his hopes. His illustrious name, as was only just, was subsequently given to the strait which had thus been traversed, although at first it was named after the *Vittoria,* which had first sighted the eastern entrance.

Magellans's hopes are realized.

Now that the great discovery was effected it was desirable to make for the warm latitudes, and Magalhaens, with the three remaining ships, the *Trinidad,* the *Vittoria,* and the *Concepcion,* steered northwest.

He reaches the Ladrones.

They crossed the line on the 13th of February, and, on the 6th of March, they had the happiness of reaching some beautiful islands, the natives of which came out to meet them in canoes, bringing cocoanuts, yams, and rice. Magalhaens would gladly have stayed here, but the pilfering habits of the people made it impossible. After some contentions on this account, at length they stole a skiff, which act Magalhaens punished by landing ninety men and firing their houses. The skiff was soon set adrift and recaptured, but the event made

Magalhaens decide on leaving these islands, which from the propensity of their inhabitants received the name of the Ladrones (the Thieves). From the Ladrones, Magalhaens steered W. and by W.S.W., and on the 16th of March reached a group of islands to which he gave the name of Archipelago de San Lazaro, a name which was afterward replaced by that of the Philippines. On the 28th of March, Magalhaens anchored off Mazagua, with the chief of which island he entered into very friendly relations. On the 31st of March, being Easter day, mass was celebrated on shore with great solemnity. The rajah, who was named Colambu, and his brother, were present, and when the Spaniards knelt in adoration, they followed their example. On the 5th of April Magalhaens sailed, under the guidance of Colambu himself, to the large island of Zebu, the King of which was Colambu's relation.

Magellan discovers the Philippines.

Being anxious to introduce the Christian religion, for which the people seemed favorably inclined, with the King's consent, he erected a stone chapel on the shore, and it having been duly consecrated, and also ornamented with tapestry and palm-branches, he landed on Sunday, the 14th of April, with many of his people, to hear mass. The procession was headed by the royal ensigns and two men in complete armor. The King and a large number of natives came to observe the ser-

He builds a chapel.

vice, and behaved with the greatest decorum. By means of the interpreter, a native of Sumatra, who had accompanied the expedition, the priest endeavored to instruct them in the Christian faith, and soon the King and the chief of Mazagua requested to be baptized.

The King is baptized.

Near Zebu was a small island named Matan, to the chief of which, who was named Cilapulapo, he sent a similar requirement that he would submit to the Christian King of Zebu, on pain of having his town, named also Matan, destroyed. The gallant chief replied that he wished to be on good terms with the Spaniards, and to prove his words, sent them a present of provisions, but absolutely refused to obey strangers of whom he knew nothing, or to submit to those whom he had long been accustomed to command. Against the advice of the King of Zebu, as well as of Joao Serrao, Magalhaens determined to punish the chief of Matan for his contumacy. At midnight, on the 26th of April, Magalhaens sailed for Matan with three boats and sixty men, accompanied by the King of Zebu and a thousand natives. Eleven men were left to guard the boats, and forty-nine, including Magalhaens, landed. They first set fire to some houses, when a strong body of Indians appeared in one direction, and as soon as the Spaniards had prepared to attack them, another body of Indians made their appearance from another quarter. Magalhaens was thus obliged to di-

Expedition against Matan.

vide his little band into two. The battle was kept up with projectiles during the greater part of the day, the Indians using stones, lances, and arrows, and the Spaniards their muskets and cross-bows. After a time it was perceived that the fire of the Spanish musketry was not so deadly as had been apprehended, and the islanders had further noticed that the legs of their enemies could be assailed with greater effect than their heads and bodies, which were covered with armor. Moreover, Magalhaens had detached a small party to set fire to some houses, more than twenty of which were burned, but two of the party were killed by the Indians. The latter became now bolder, and approached nearer with a view to taking the life of Magalhaens himself. A severe wound in the right leg caused him to fall forward on his face, and he was speedily despatched. In obedience to the unfortunate order which he had received, the King of Zebu and his people had remained in their canoes, looking quietly on, but seeing the failing condition of the Spaniards at the close, came to their relief and saved many of them. Eight Spaniards died with Magalhaens, and twenty-two were wounded.

Death of Magellan.

Thus fell this great navigator, second only to Columbus in the history of nautical exploration. Midway in the execution of a feat such as the world had never witnessed, the very hardihood which had already rendered

that achievement possible, had now, by degenerating into presumption, deprived him of the glory of its fulfilment.

The Spaniards who escaped elected Duarte Barbosa and the pilot Joao Serrao as joint commanders-in-chief. On Saturday, the 6th of September, 1522, the *Vittoria* arrived at San Lucar with eighteen survivors only of the noble fleet which had sailed from the same port on the 20th of September, 1519. Thus three years, all but fourteen days, had been expended in this most eventful and wonderful voyage—a miracle of resolute perseverance under inconceivable hardships. It was appropriate that the only ship which had effected this great achievement should have borne the name of *Vittoria,* for a victory had been gained such as the world had never witnessed. On his arrival, Del Cano, the fortunate recipient of the honors which had been toiled for and deserved by the talents and indomitable resolution of his great commander, Magalhaens, was summoned by the Emperor to Valladolid, and received with great distinction. A life pension of five hundred ducats was conferred on him, with a patent of nobility. The coat-of-arms granted him by the Emperor bore branches of the clove, cinnamon, and nutmeg trees, with a globe for a crest, and the motto, *Primus circumdedisti me.*

Only eighteen survive.

FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD

(A.D. 1520)

CHARLES KNIGHT

ON the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by Wolsey for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis before the end of the following May. It was drawn up with a strict regard to an equal weighing of the honor and dignity of the two kings. The equality of their personal merits is also flatteringly asserted in this document: "As the said serene princes of England and France be like in force corporal, beauty, and gift of nature, right expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right chivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigor of youth," they are to "take counsel and dispose themselves to do some fair feat of arms." The place of meeting was to be between the English castle of Guisnes and the French castle of Ardres. The curious *Chronicle of Calais* records that, on the 19th of March, the commissioners of King Henry landed, "to oversee the making of a palace before the castle gate of Guisnes;

Equality between Henry and Francis.

wherefore there was sent the King's master mason, master carpenter, and three hundred masons, five hundred carpenters, one hundred joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths, and other artificers, both out of England and Flanders, to the number in all two thousand and more." The temporary palace was of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows, and canvas roofs. These particulars are curious, as showing how labor could be organized in England for the rapid completion of a great work, at a period when we are accustomed to think that the national industry was conducted upon a very small scale. Henry was highly flattered by the proposal of Francis, "to meet with us within our dominion, pale, and marches of Calais, whereas heretofore semblable honor of pre-eminence hath not been given by any of the French kings to our progenitors or ancestors." Wolsey took care to modify the offer, so that his sovereign's "honor of pre-eminence" should not be offensively asserted. The vast preparations at Guisnes went forward day and night to construct a palace whose principal rooms were to be larger than in any house in England—whose canvas roofs were to be "curiously garnished"—whose walls were to be flourished with "histories," which Master Barclay, the poet, was to devise; and, in despite of the fears of the directors of the work, the building approached its completion after two months' la-

Proposed meeting between them.

Vast preparations.

bor. On the 21st of May, Henry and the Queen set forth from Greenwich toward the seaside. On the 25th they arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept.

Slowly indeed had the whole court travelled, for there was something to be accomplished before the great interview at Calais should take place. Another personage was to appear upon the scene, by the merest accident, at the exact moment when he was wanted. Tidings were brought to Canterbury that Charles, the Emperor-elect, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England. He was on his passage from Spain to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He could not pass the English shores without landing to behold the King whom he so reverenced and the aunt he so dearly loved. Wolsey hurried to Dover to welcome Charles, who landed at Hythe. The "Deus ex machinâ" was produced, to the wonderment of all spectators, and no one saw the wheels and springs of the mechanism. The politic young statesman won the hearts of the English, who rejoiced "to see the benign manner and meekness of so great a Prince." Henry came to Dover. They kept the Whitsuntide together at Canterbury, "with much joy and gladness"; and on the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais.

A royal visitor.

A politic stroke.

The character of this royal embarkation has

been handed down to us in an ancient painting. The thousands of visitors who now range freely through the state apartments of Hampton Court, and who are familiar with the solid grandeur of a modern English fleet, look with natural curiosity upon the unwieldy hulls, the decks covered with blazonry, the painted sails, of the Sixteenth Century, and think how a single steam frigate would consign all this bravery to sudden destruction. With a fair wind such a navy might safely cross the channel. The low towers of Dover have vomited forth their fire and smoke; and in a few hours the guns of Calais salute the English King. The great palace was ready, with its ceilings draped with silk, and its walls hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk." But while Henry was contemplating his splendors, Wolsey was busy arranging a treaty with Francis. The friendship of England was to be secured by a renewal of the treaty of marriage between the Dauphin and the Princess Mary. There can be little doubt that at this very time the Cardinal was bound to the interests of the Emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. Yet the play was to be played out. Henry was to meet the French King with such a display of the magnificence of his court as might challenge any rivalry. But Francis, possessing much of the same temper, was not to be outdone in pageantry.

Appearance of the Kings.

A treaty arranged.

"To-day the French,
All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
Made Britain India: every man that stood,
Show'd like a mine."—*Henry VIII., Act I., Sc.* 1.

The dramatic poet has described this famous meeting in a short dialogue. Hall, the chronicler, who was present, elaborates these "fierce vanities" in many quarto pages. On the 7th of June, the two Kings met in the valley of Andren. Titian has made us acquainted with the animated features of Francis. Hall has painted him with coarser colors; as "a goodly Prince, stately of countenance, merry of cheer, brown colored, great eyes, high-nosed, big lipped, fair breasted and shoulders, small legs, and long feet." Holbein has rendered Henry familiar to us in his later years; but at this period he was described by a Venetian resident in England as "handsomer by far than the King of France. He is exceeding fair, and as well proportioned in every part as is possible. When he learned that the King of France wore a beard, he allowed his also to grow, which, being somewhat red, has at present the appearance of being of gold." It is scarcely necessary to transcribe the complimentary speeches, and the professions of affection which are related to have passed at this meeting. The two Kings did not come to the appointed valley, surrounded each with an amazing train of gorgeously apparelled gentlemen and nobles, and with a great body of

Portrait of Francis.

armed men, without some fears and suspicions on either side. The English, if we may believe the chronicler, were most wanting in honorable confidence. The English lords and their attendants moved not from their appointed ranks. "The Frenchmen suddenly brake, and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair; but for all that, the court of England and the lords kept still their array."

Mutual suspicion.

The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks of that June of 1520. Ten days were spent in the feats of arms for which Wolsey had provided. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The Kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the Emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers. The lists were set up close to the Flemish frontier, but not a gentleman of Spain, or Flanders, or Brabant, or Burgundy, stirred to do honor to these pageantries. "By that," says Hall, "it seemed there was small love between the Emperor and the French King. On Midsummer Day the gaudy shows were over. The Kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents,—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. Here the English court remained till the 10th of July. It was in vain that the French King had come,

The Field of the Cloth of Gold.

unattended and unarmed into the English quarter, to show his confidence in the friendship of his companion in feats of chivalry. In vain had the French nobles put all their estates upon their backs to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. On the 11th of July Henry met the Emperor near Gravelines; and the Emperor returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days, Charles accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom. Hall has recorded that during the pomps of the valley of Andren, on the 18th of June, "there blew such storms of wind and weather that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." The French, in this second meeting between Henry and Charles, saw the accomplishment of the foreboding beginning to take a definite form.

Meeting with Charles V.

CHARLES V. CONQUERS ITALY

(A.D. 1521—1529)

J. C. L. DE SISMONDI

THE Emperor Maximilian died on the 19th of January, 1519, leaving his hereditary states of Austria to his grandson, Charles. Italy, indeed the whole of Europe, was endangered by the immeasurable growth of this young monarch's power. The states of the Church, over which he domineered by means of his kingdom of the Two Sicilies, could not hope to preserve any independence but through an alliance with France. Leo at first thought so, and signed the preliminary articles of a league with Francis; but, suddenly changing sides, he invited Charles V. to join him in driving the French out of Italy. A secret treaty was signed between him and the Emperor on the 8th of May, 1521. The Pope united his army to that of the Emperor in the kingdom of Naples; the command of it was given jointly to Prospero Colonna and the Marquis Pescara: war was declared on the 1st of August, and the imperial and pontifical troops entered Milan on the

Secret treaty between Pope and Emperor.

Death of Leo X.

19th of November: but in the midst of the joy of this first success, Leo X. died unexpectedly, on the 1st of December, 1521.

He left his successors in a state of distress which was unjustly attributed to them, and which rendered them odious to the people; for the war into which he had plunged them, without any reasonable motive, was the most disastrous of all those which had yet afflicted unhappy Italy. There remained no power truly Italian that could take any part in it for her defence. Venice was so exhausted by the war of the League of Cambray, that she was forced to limit her efforts to the maintenance of her neutrality, and was hardly powerful enough to make even her neutral position respected. Florence remained subject to the Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. The republics of

State of Italy.

Sienna and Lucca were tremblingly prepared to obey the strongest: all the rest depended on the transalpine power; for an unexpected election, on the 9th of January, 1522, had given a Flemish successor to Leo X., under the name of Adrian VI. This person had been the preceptor of Charles V., and had never seen Italy, where he was regarded as a barbarian. The kingdom of Naples was governed and plundered by the Spaniards. After the French had lost the Duchy of Milan, Francesco Sforza, who had been brought back by the imperialists, possessed only the name of sovereign. He had never been for a moment in-

dependent; he had never been able to protect his subjects from the tyranny of the Spanish and German soldiers, who were his guards. Finally, the Marquis de Montferrat and the Duke of Savoy had allowed the French to become masters in their States, and had no power to refuse them passage to ravage oppressed Italy anew.

The Marshal Lautrec, whom Francis I. had charged to defend the Milanese, and who still occupied the greater part of the territory, was forced by the Swiss, who formed the sinews of his army, to attack the imperialists on the 29th of April, 1522, at Bicocca. Prospero Colonna had taken up a strong position about three or four miles from Milan, on the road to Monza: he valued himself on making a defensive war,—on being successful, without giving battle. The Swiss attacked him in front, throwing themselves, without listening to the voice of their commander, into a hollow way which covered him, and where they perished, without the possibility of resistance. After having performed prodigies of valor, the remainder were repulsed with dreadful loss. In spite of the remonstrances of Lautrec, they immediately departed for their mountains; and he for his court, to justify himself. Lescuns, his successor in the command, suffered the imperialists to surprise and pillage Lodi; and was at last forced to capitulate at Cremona on the 6th of May, and evacuate the rest of Lom-

Fabian tactics of Prospero Colonna.

bardy. Genoa was not comprehended in the capitulation, and remained still in possession of the French; but, on the 30th of May, that city also was surprised by the Spaniards, and pillaged with all the ferocity which signalized that nation. It was one of the largest depôts of commerce in the West, and the ruin of so opulent a town shook the fortune of every merchant in Europe. The general of Charles then, judging Lombardy too much exhausted to support his armies, led them to live at discretion in the provinces of his ally, the Pope. They raised among the States, still calling themselves independent, enormous subsidies to pay the soldiers, for which purpose Charles never sent money. The plague, breaking out at the same time at Rome and Florence, added to the calamities of Italy, so much the more that Adrian VI. abolished, as pagan superstition or acts of revolt against Providence, all the sanitary measures of police which had been invented to stop the spread of contagion. The Pope died on the 14th of September, 1523; and the Romans, who held him in horror, crowned his physician with laurel, as the savior of his country.

Capture and pillage of Genoa.

The death of Adrian, however, saved no one. The Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was chosen his successor, on the 18th of November, under the name of Clement VII. He was not strong enough to resist the tide of adversity. He found himself, without money and

Clement VII.

without soldiers, engaged in a war without an object: he was incapable of commanding, and nowhere found obedience.

The French were not disposed to abandon their title to Lombardy. Before the end of the campaign, Francis sent thither another army, commanded by his favorite, the Admiral Bonnivet. This admiral entered Italy by Piedmont; passed the Ticino on the 14th of September, 1523; and marched on Milan. But Prospero Colonna was admirable in the art of stopping an army, of fatiguing it by slight checks, and at last forcing it to retreat without giving battle. Bonnivet, who maintained himself on the borders of Lombardy, was forced, in the month of May following, to open himself a passage to France by Ivrea and Mont St. Bernard. The Chevalier Bayard was killed while protecting the retreat of Bonnivet, in the rearguard. The imperialists had been joined, the preceding year, by a deserter of high importance, the Constable Bourbon, one of the first princes of the blood in France, who was accompanied by many nobles. Charles V. put him, jointly with Pescara, at the head of his army, and sent him into Provence in the month of July; but, after having besieged Marseilles, he was soon constrained to retreat. Francis I., who had assembled a powerful army, again entered Lombardy, and made himself master of Milan: he next laid siege to Pavia, on the 28th of Oc-

Bonnivet enters Italy.

Death of the Chevalier Bayard.

tober. Some time was necessary for the imperialists to reassemble their army, which the campaign of Provence had disorganized. At length it approached Pavia, which had resisted through the whole winter. The King of France was pressed by all his captains to raise the siege, and to march against the enemy; but he refused, declaring that it would be a compromise of the royal dignity, and foolishly remained within his lines. He was attacked by Pescara on the 24th of February, 1525; and, after a murderous battle, made prisoner.

Battle of Pavia.

For several months, while Francis I. was besieging Pavia, he appeared the strongest power in Italy; and the Pope and Venetians, alarmed at his proximity, had treated with him anew, and pledged themselves to remain neutral. The imperial generals, after the victory, declared that these treaties with the French were offences against their master, for which they should demand satisfaction. Always without money, and pressed by the avidity of their soldiers, they sought only to discover offenders, as a pretence to raise contributions, and to let their troops live at free quarters. The Pope and the Venetians were at first disposed to join in a league for resisting their exactions; and they offered Louisa of Savoy, Regent of France, their aid to set her son Francis at liberty. But Clement VII. had not sufficient courage to sign this league:

he preferred returning again to the alliance of the Emperor and the Duke of Milan, for which he paid a considerable sum. As soon as the imperial generals had received the money, they refused to execute the treaty which they had made with him, and the Pope was obliged to go back to the Venetians and Louisa of Savoy. Meanwhile Jerome Morone, chancellor of the Duke of Milan, an old man regarded as the most able politician of his time, made overtures, which revived the hope of arming all Italy for her independence. Francesco Sforza found himself treated by the Germans and Spaniards with the greatest indignity in his own palace: his subjects were exposed to every kind of insult from an unbridled soldiery; and when he endeavored to protect them, the officers took pleasure in making him witness aggravations of injustice and outrage. The man, however, who made the German yoke press most severely on him was the Marquis Pescara, an Italian. He manifested a sort of vanity in associating himself with the Spaniards: he adopted the manners as well as pride of that nation. Morone, nevertheless, did not despair of awakening his patriotism, by exciting his ambition. Morone determined on offering Pescara the crown of Naples, if he would join his efforts to those of all the other Italians, for the deliverance of his country. Success depended on him: he could distribute the imperial troops, which

Morone plans the deliverance of Italy.

he commanded, in such a manner that they could oppose no resistance. The Duke of Milan had been warned that Charles V. intended taking his Duchy from him, to confer it on his brother, Ferdinand of Austria. The kingdom of Naples and the Duchy of Milan were ready to pass over from the Emperor's party to that of France, provided the French king would renounce all his claims to both, acknowledge Pescara king of Naples, Francesco Sforza Duke of Milan; and restore to Italy her independence, after having delivered her from her enemies.

Negotiation at first successful.

This negotiation was at first successful; but unhappily it was intrusted to too many cabinets, all jealous, perfidious, and eager to obtain advantages for themselves by sacrificing their allies. Clement was desirous of obtaining from the Emperor a more advantageous treaty, by threatening him with France; the Queen Regent of France endeavored to engage Charles to relax his rigor toward her son, by threatening him with Italy; Pescara, reserving the choice of either betraying his master or his allies, as should prove most profitable to him, had warned Charles that he was engaged in a plot which he would reveal as soon as he had every clue to it. The Duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis, sent by her mother to negotiate at Madrid, spoke still more clearly. She offered Charles to abandon Italy, the project respecting which she disclosed,

provided the Emperor, in restoring her brother to liberty, would renounce his purpose of making him purchase it at the price of one of the provinces of France. Pescara, finding that his court knew more than he had told, determined on adopting the part of provocative agent instead of rebel; he had only to choose between them. On the 14th of October, 1525, he invited Morone to a last conference in the castle of Novara. After having made him explain all his projects anew, while Spanish officers hid behind the arras heard them, he caused him to be arrested, seized all the fortresses in the State of Milan, and laid siege to the castle, in which the Duke had shut himself up. He denounced to the Emperor as traitors, the Pope, and all the other Italians his accomplices; but while he played this odious part, he was attacked by a slow disease, of which he died on the 30th of November, 1525, at the age of thirty-six, abhorred by all Italy.

Pescara's treachery and death.

Charles, abusing the advantages which he had obtained, imposed on Francis the treaty of Madrid, signed on the 14th of January, 1526; by which the latter abandoned Italy and the Duchy of Burgundy. He was set at liberty on the 18th of March following; and almost immediately declared to the Italians that he did not regard himself bound by a treaty extorted from him by force. On the 22d of May, he signed a league for the liberty of

Treaty of Madrid.

Italy with Clement VII., the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, but still did not abandon the policy of his mother: instead of thinking in earnest of restoring Italian independence, and thus securing the equilibrium of Europe, he had only one purpose,—that of alarming Charles with the Italians; and was ready to sacrifice them as soon as the Emperor should abandon Burgundy. At the same time, his supineness, love of pleasure, distrust of his fortune, and repugnance to violate the treaty of Madrid, hindered him from fulfilling any of the engagements which he had contracted toward the Italians; he sent them neither money, French cavalry, nor Swiss forces. Charles, on the other hand, sent no supplies to pay his armies to Antonio de Leyva, the Constable Bourbon, and Hugo de Moncada, their commanders. These troops were therefore obliged to live at free quarters, and the oppression of the whole country was still more dreadful than it had ever yet been.

Francis fails to fulfil his engagements.

Oppression of the whole country.

The defection of the Duke of Milan, in particular, gave a pretence to Antonio de Leyva to treat the wretched Milanese with redoubled rigor, as if they could be responsible for what Leyva called the treachery of their master. The Spanish army was quartered on the citizens of Milan; and there was not a soldier who did not make his host a prisoner, keeping him bound at the foot of the bed, or in the cellar, for the purpose of having him daily

at hand, to force him, by blows or fresh torture, to satisfy some new caprice. As soon as one wretched person died under his sufferings, or broke his bonds and ended his sufferings by a voluntary death, either precipitating himself through a window or into a well, the Spaniard passed into another house to recommence on its proprietor the same torture. The Venetians and the Pope had united their forces, under the command of the Duke of Urbino, who, exaggerating the tactics of Prospero Colonna, was ambitious of no other success in war than that of avoiding battle. He announced to the Senate of Venice that he would not approach Milan till the French and Swiss, whose support he had been promised, joined him. His inaction, while witnessing so many horrors, reduced the Italians to despair. Sforza, who had been nine months blockaded in the castle of Milan, and who always hoped to be delivered by the Duke of Urbino, whose colors were in sight, supported the last extremity of hunger before he surrendered to the Spaniards, on the 24th of July, 1526. The Pope, meanwhile, was far from suspecting himself in any danger; but his personal enemy, Pompeo Colonna, took advantage of the name of the imperial party to raise in the papal State 8,000 armed peasants, with whom, on the 20th of September, he surprised the Vatican, pillaged the palace, as well as the temple of St. Peter, and constrained the Pope to abjure the

Miseries of Milan.

The Vatican surprised.

alliance of France and Venice. About the same time, George de Frundsberg, a German condottiere, entered Lombardy with 13,000 adventurers, whom he had engaged to follow him, and serve the Emperor without pay, contenting themselves with the pillage of that unhappy country.

Frundsberg enters Lombardy.

Charles had given the chief command of his forces in Italy to the Constable de Bourbon, who determined to take advantage of this new army, and unite it to that for which at Milan he had now no further occasion; but it was not without great difficulty that he could persuade the Spaniards to quit that city, where they enjoyed the savage pleasure of inflicting torture on their hosts. At length, however, he succeeded in leading them to Pavia. On the 30th of January, 1527, he joined Frundsberg, who died soon after of apoplexy. Bourbon now remained alone charged with the command of this formidable army, already exceeding 25,000 men, and continually joined on its route by disbanded soldiers and brigands intent on pillage. The Constable had neither money, equipments, nor artillery, and very few cavalry; every town shut its gates on his approach, and he was often on the point of wanting provisions. He took the road to southern Italy, and entered Tuscany, still uncertain whether he should pillage Florence or Rome. The Marquis of Saluzzo, with a small army, retreated before

The Constable de Bourbon.

him; the Duke of Urbino followed in his rear, but always keeping out of reach of battle. At last, Bourbon took the road to Rome by the valley of the Tiber. On the 5th of May, 1527, he arrived before the capital of Christendom. Clement, long alarmed at his march, had, on the 15th of March, signed a truce of eight months with the Viceroy of Naples, and dismissed his troops, never imagining that one of the Emperor's lieutenants would not respect the engagements of the other. On the approach of Bourbon, however, the walls of Rome were again mounted with engines of war. The next day, the 6th of May, this renegade prince led his troops to the assault of the city. He was killed near the Janiculum, while mounting the first scaling-ladder. His fall did not stop the terrific band of robbers which he led. The victorious army scaled the walls, which were ill defended; and spread terror through the quarters of the Borgo, Vatican, and Trastevere. In a few hours they were masters of the whole city, Clement having neglected to destroy the bridges on the Tiber.

Bourbon before Rome.

His death.

The capital of Christendom was then abandoned to a pillage unparalleled in the most calamitous period—that of the first triumph of barbarism over civilization: neither Alaric the Goth, nor Genseric the Vandal, had treated it with like ferocity. Not only was all that could be seized in every house and every

Sack of Rome.

shop carried off, but the peasants of the fiefs of Colonna took possession of the heavy furniture which did not tempt the cupidity of the soldier. From the day on which these barbarians entered the city, all personal protection was withdrawn; women were abandoned to the outrages of the victors; and sanctuaries, enriched by the veneration of Christendom for twelve centuries, were devoted to spoliation. The squares before the churches were strewed with the ornaments of the altar, relics, and other sacred things, which the soldiers threw into the street after having torn off the gold and silver which adorned them. Men, women, and children were seized, whenever their captors could flatter themselves that they had concealed some treasure, or that there was any one sufficiently interested for them to pay their ransom. Every house resounded with the cries and lamentations of wretched persons thus subjected to the torture; and this dreadful state of crime and agony lasted not merely days, but was prolonged for more than nine months: it was not till the 17th of February, 1528, that the Prince of Orange, one of the French lords who had accompanied Bourbon in his rebellion, finally withdrew from Rome all of this army that vice and disease had spared. The Germans, indeed, after the first few days, had sheathed their swords, to plunge into drunkenness and the most brutal debauchery; but the Spaniards, up to the last

The sanctuaries despoiled.

The Prince of Orange withdraws his troops from Rome.

hour of their stay in Rome, indefatigable in their cold-blooded cruelty, continued to invent fresh torture to extort new ransoms from all who fell into their hands; even the plague, the consequence of so much suffering, moral and physical, which broke out amid all these horrors, did not make the rapacious Spaniard loose his prey. Cruelty of the Spaniards.

The struggle between the Italians, feebly seconded by the French, and the generals of Charles V., was prolonged yet more than two years after the sack of Rome; but it only added to the desolation of Italy, and destroyed alike in all the Italian provinces the last remains of prosperity. On the 18th of August, 1527, Henry VIII. of England and Francis I. contracted the treaty of Amiens, for the deliverance, as the two sovereigns announced, of the Pope. A powerful French army, commanded by Lautrec, entered Italy in the same month, by the province of Alexandria. They surprised Pavia on the 1st of October, and during eight days barbarously pillaged that great city, under pretence of avenging the defeat of their King under its walls. After this success, Lautrec, instead of completing the conquest of Lombardy, directed his march toward the south; renewed the alliance of France with the Duke of Ferrara, to whose son was given in marriage a daughter of Louis XII., sister of the Queen of France. He secured the friendship of the Florentine republic, which, Treaty of Amiens.

on the 17th of the preceding May, had taken advantage of the distress and captivity of the Pope, to recover its liberty, and to re-establish its government in the same form in which it stood in 1512. The Pope, learning that Lautrec had arrived at Orvieto, escaped from the castle of St. Angelo on the 9th of December, and took refuge in the French camp. The Spaniard Alarcon had detained him captive, with thirteen cardinals, during six months, in that fortress; and, though the plague had broken out there, he did not relax in his severity. After having received 400,000 ducats for his ransom, instead of releasing him, as he had engaged to do the next day, it is probable that he suffered him to escape, lest his own soldiers should arrest him in order to extort a second ransom.

The Pope takes refuge in the French camp.

Lautrec passed the Tronto to enter the Abruzzi with his powerful army on the 10th of February, 1528. The banditti whom Charles V. called his soldiers, whom he never paid, and who showed no disposition to obedience, were cantoned at Milan, Rome, and the principal cities in Italy: they divided their time between debauchery and the infliction of torture on their hosts; their officers were unable to induce them to leave the towns and advance toward the enemy. The people, in the excess of suffering, met every change with eagerness, and received Lautrec as a deliverer. He would probably have obtained complete

The people receive Lautrec as a deliverer.

success, if Francis had not just at this moment withheld the monthly advance of money which he had promised. Lautrec, on his side, although he had many qualities of a good general, was harsh, proud, and obstinate: he piqued himself on doing always the opposite of what he was counselled. Disregarding the national peculiarities of the French, he attempted in war to discipline them in slow and regular movements. He lost valuable time in Apulia, where he took and sacked Melfi, on the 23d of March, with a barbarity worthy of his adversaries, the Spaniards: he did not arrive till the 1st of May before Naples. The Prince of Orange had just entered that city with the army which had sacked Rome, but of which the greater part had been carried off by a dreadful mortality, the consequence and punishment of its vices and crimes. Instead of vigorously attacking them, Lautrec, in spite of the warm remonstrances of his officers, persisted in reducing Naples by blockade; thus exposing his army to the influence of a destructive climate. The imperial fleet was destroyed, on the 28th of May, in the gulf of Salerno, by Filippino Doria, who was in the pay of France. The inhabitants of Naples experienced the most cruel privations, and sickness soon made great havoc among them: but a malady not less fatal broke out at the same time in the French camp. The soldiers, under a burning sun, surrounded with putrid

Siege of Naples.

water, condemned to every kind of privation, harassed by the light cavalry of the enemy, infinitely superior to theirs, sank, one after the other, under pestilential fevers. In the middle of June, the French reckoned in their camp 25,000 men; by the 2d of August, there did not remain 4,000 fit for service. At this period all the springs were dry, and the troops began to suffer from hunger and thirst. Lautrec, ill as he was, had till then supported the army by his courage and invincible obstinacy; but, worn out at last, he expired on the night of the 15th of August:—almost all the other officers died in like manner. The Marquis de Saluces, on whom the command of the army devolved, felt the necessity of a retreat, but knew not how to secure it in presence of such a superior force. He tried to escape from the imperialists, by taking advantage of a tremendous storm, on the night of the 29th of August; but was soon pursued, and overtaken at Aversa, where, on the 30th, he was forced to capitulate. The magazines and hospitals at Capua were, at the same time, given up to the Spaniards. The prisoners and the sick were crowded together in the stables of the Magdalen, where contagion acquired new force. The Spaniards foresaw it, and watched with indifference the agony and death of all; for nearly all of that brilliant army perished—a few invalids only ever returned to France.

Destruction of the army.

During the same campaign another French

army, conducted by François de Bourbon, Count de St. Pol, had entered Lombardy, at the moment when Henry, Duke of Brunswick, led thither a German army. Henry, finding nothing more to pillage, announced that his mission was to punish a rebellious nation, and put to the sword all the inhabitants of the villages through which he passed. Milan was at once a prey to famine and the plague, aggravated by the cupidity and cold-blooded ferocity of Leyva, who still commanded the Spanish garrison. Leyva seized all the provisions brought in from the country; and, to profit by the general misery, resold them at an enormous price. Genoa had remained subject to the French, and was little less oppressed; none of its republican institutions were any longer respected: but a great admiral still rendered it illustrious. Andrea Doria had collected a fleet, on board of which he summoned all the enterprising spirits of Liguria: his nephew Filippino, who had just gained a victory over the imperialists, was his lieutenant. The Dorias demanded the restoration of liberty to their country as the price of their services; unable to obtain it from the French, they passed over to the imperialists. Assured by the promises of Charles, they presented themselves, on the 12th of September, before Genoa, excited their countrymen to revolt, and constrained the French to evacuate the town: they made themselves masters of Savona on

Andrea Doria.

the 21st of October, and a few days afterward of Castelletto. Doria then proclaimed the Republic, and re-established once more the freedom of Genoa, at the moment when all freedom was near its end in Italy. The winter passed in suffering and inaction. The following year, Antonio de Leyva surprised the Count de St. Pol at Landriano, on the 21st of June, 1529, and made him prisoner, with all the principal officers of the French army. The rest dispersed or returned to France. This was the last military incident in this dreadful war.

Freedom of Genoa established.

Peace was ardently desired on all sides; negotiations were actively carried on; but every potentate sought to deceive his ally, in order to obtain better conditions from his adversary. Margaret of Austria, the sister of the Emperor's father, and Louisa of Savoy, the mother of the King of France, met at Cambray; and in conference, to which no witnesses were admitted, arranged what was called *Le traité des dames.* Clement VII. had at the same time a nuncio at Barcelona, who negotiated with the Emperor. The latter was impatient to arrange the affairs of Italy, in order to pass into Germany. Not only had Soliman invaded Austria, and, on the 13th of September, arrived under the walls of Vienna, but the Reformation of Luther excited in all the north of Germany a continually increasing ferment. On the 20th of June,

Soliman invades Austria.

1529, Charles signed at Barcelona a treaty of perpetual alliance with the Pope: by it he engaged to sacrifice the republic of Florence to the Pope's vengeance, and to place in the service of Clement, in order to accomplish it, all the brigands who had previously devastated Italy. Florence was to be given in sovereignty to the bastard Alexander de' Medici, who was to marry an illegitimate daughter of Charles V. On August 5th following, Louisa and Margaret signed the treaty of Cambray, by which France abandoned, without reserve, all its Italian allies to the caprices of Charles; who, on his side, renounced Burgundy, and restored to Francis his two sons, who had been retained as hostages. Charles arrived at Genoa, on board the fleet of Andrea Doria, on the 12th of August. The Pope awaited him at Bologna, into which he made his entry on the 5th of November. He summoned thither all the princes of Italy, or their deputies, and treated them with more moderation than might have been expected after the shameful abandonment of them by France. As he knew the health of Francesco Sforza, Duke of Milan, to be in a declining state, which promised but few years of life, he granted him the restitution of his Duchy for the sum of 900,000 ducats, which Sforza was to pay at different terms: they had not all fallen due when that Prince died, on the 24th of October, 1535, without issue, and his estates

Treaty of Cambray.

Milan falls to Charles.

Charles grants peace to the Venetians.

escheated to the Emperor. On the 23d of December, 1529, Charles granted peace to the Venetians; who restored him only some places in Apulia, and gave up Ravenna and Cervia to the Pope. On the 20th of March, Alphonso d'Este also signed a treaty, by which he referred his differences with the Pope to the arbitration of the Emperor. Charles did not pronounce on them till the following year. He conferred on Alphonso the possession of Modena, Reggio, and Rubbiera, as fiefs of the Empire; and he made the Pope give him the investiture of Ferrara. On the 15th of March, 1530, a diploma of the Emperor raised the marquisate of Mantua to a duchy, in favor of Frederick de Gonzaga. The Duke of Savoy and the Marquis de Montferrat, till then protected by France, arrived at Bologna, to place themselves under the protection of the Emperor. The Duke of Urbino was recommended to him by the Venetians, and obtained some promises of favor. The republics of Genoa, Sienna, and Lucca had permission to vegetate under the imperial protection; and Charles, having received from the Pope, at Bologna, on the 22d of February and 24th of March, the two crowns of Lombardy and of the Empire, departed in the beginning of April for Germany, in order to escape witnessing the odious service, in which he consented that his troops should be employed against Florence.

He receives the double crown.

The evil destiny of Italy was accomplished. Charles VIII., when he first invaded that country, opened its gates to all the transalpine nations; from that period Italy was ravaged, during thirty-six years, by Germans, French, Spaniards, Swiss, and even Turks. They inflicted on her calamities beyond example in history; calamities so much the more keenly felt, as the sufferers were more civilized, and the authors more barbarous. The French invasion ended in giving to the greatest enemies of France the dominion of that country, so rich, so industrious, and of which the possession was sought ardently by all. Never would the house of Austria have achieved the conquest of Italy, if Charles VIII., Louis XII., and Francis I. had not previously destroyed the wealth and military organization of the nation; if they had not themselves introduced the Spaniards into the kingdom of Naples, and the Germans into the states of Venice; forgetting that both must soon after be subject to Charles V. The independence of Italy would have been beneficial to France: the rapacious and improvident policy which made France seek subjects where it should only have sought allies was the origin of a long train of disasters to the French.

Italy's calamities.

France overreaches herself.

A period of three centuries of weakness, humiliation, and suffering in Italy began in the year 1530: from that time she was always op-

pressed by foreigners, and enervated and corrupted by her masters. These last reproached her with the vices of which they were themselves the authors. After having reduced her to the impossibility of resisting, they accused her of cowardice when she submitted, and of rebellion when she made efforts to vindicate herself. The Italians, during this long period of slavery, were agitated with the desire of becoming once more a nation: as, however, they had lost the direction of their own affairs, they ceased to have any history which could be called theirs; their misfortunes became but episodes in the histories of other nations.

Italy loses her liberties.

LIBERATION OF GENOA: ANDREA DORIA

(A.D. 1528)

G. B. MALLESON

IN the year 1528, Andrea Doria transferred the suzerainty of Genoa from François I. of France to Charles V. of Spain. Promptly presenting himself with his fleet before Genoa, he entered the city, and thus addressed the assembled citizens: "At last the liberty so much desired is restored. But what advantage will it be to you unless you try to preserve it? I, indeed, have left no stone unturned to obtain it for you; and since, following the example of my ancestors, I have devoted myself to the naval service, I have chosen friends and enemies alike for the service of the Republic, having her interests in view more than my own. My only wish has been to save her from oppression. Thus, first I tolerated the faction of the Fregosi, not because I liked them, but because I knew that in the terribly corrupted state of affairs the wrongs of the country were rather to be wept over than cured. But since I attained to the command of the fleet you know well if I have

Andrea Doria's address.

Reason for seizing power.

not inflicted damage on all your enemies; you know well how I treated the Adorni, the cause of so many misfortunes, and how I favored France in order to expel them. You know how I have purged your seas of pirates. And you have seen just how, the French yoke having become insupportable, I have, at my own danger and risk, changed the suzerainty, to be able to devote myself entirely to your safety. I should not, indeed, have come to this resolution if the King, as a reward for my victory in Sicily, had not refused to restore us Savona. Now that the city is delivered from the French, we see the happy beginning of a work which must be completed. To arms then; let the love of country be your tutelary god; let us expel the enemy from the Castelletto; let us dismantle the hated forts of Savona. How can France, engaged in distant wars, hinder us? Our greatest enemies are our own divisions. Let us then, first of all, apply our minds seriously to cure these festering wounds, that we may be able to enjoy the fruits of our victories. You have already appointed a minister for that purpose; yet why is there delay in taking measures to carry it out? I am here, ready for all your needs; and as I have ever devoted my life and my means to the country, so now will I persevere in serving it with as much, or even greater, zeal."

Love of country a tutelary god.

These words, spoken on September 12 by the first citizen of his country, had a marked

and striking effect. The disunion, theretofore prevailing in Genoa, disappeared. Subscriptions were raised on the spot. Four captains of the people were elected for the defence of the city, and the operations against the Castelletto and Savona were confided to Count Filippino Doria. The enthusiasm was at its height, and the opportunity to profit by it offered.

Disunion disappears.

Yet the circumstances were grave. The Governor of the Castelletto for the King of France, Teodoro Triulzio, had sent pressing messages to the French commander, the Comte de Saint-Paul, who had just sacked Pavia; Saint-Paul had obeyed his summons, had marched for Genoa, and had sent a herald to summon the city. But the inspiration of Andrea Doria was not evanescent. By a stratagem the forces of the Genoese were made to appear ten times their real number. The herald was then dismissed, and Saint-Paul, intimidated by his report, retreated. The citizens, greatly encouraged at this, raised batteries against the Castelletto, and terrified Triulzio into retreat. Then came Savona. Against this close neighbor and commercial rival of Genoa, Andrea Doria himself led the Genoese fleet, and in a few days he and Sinibaldo Fiesco, commander of the army, entered Savona in triumph. Great discussion succeeded as to the treatment this town should receive. Some were for according pardon;

The Genoese take Savona.

others for treating her as a conquered foe. The former counsels, urged by Agostino Pallavicino, prevailed—perhaps, indeed, because they were accompanied by conditions more certain to effect the desired end. Savona, indeed, was spared; but the walls of the city and all the fortifications were razed, and in the harbor were sunk ships full of stones. Savona received a blow from which, up to the present day, she has not recovered.

Savona's ruin.

The towns of Novi, Ovada and Gavi followed the example of submission to the victorious Republic, and the work of conquest was thus completed. But on that followed the more serious question of internal rehabilitation. The first step was to proclaim perfect equality among all citizens, classing them under twenty-eight families, called Alberghi, describing each by some name illustrious above the others for its merits, its importance, and its wealth. Then, on October 11, the Code of new laws was published. These were to the following effect: 1. That a list of nobles should be made, entitled the Nobles of the Golden Book; that to these should be committed the government of the Republic; and that to them others might also be added, the power of nominating them being vested in the Senate.

Perfect equality of citizens proclaimed.

The Golden Book.

2. That the Greater Council should be composed of four hundred nobles, three hundred of them to be elected by lot, and these three

hundred to elect a fourth hundred. This Council to possess full powers.

3. That from these four hundred should be taken by lot one hundred to form a Lesser Council, to deliberate upon matters of minor importance, and elect the city magistrates.

4. That from the Greater Council should be chosen eight Senators, forming, with the Doge, the executive power.

5. That the Doge should be President of the Senate, and preside at the Greater and Lesser Councils. In the Senate he alone had the right to refuse to submit any proposition to the vote.

6. That the two Councils should last for one year; they were then to be dissolved, and fresh elections to take place. The Senators to hold office for two years, but at the end of each six months two of them were to retire, to be replaced from the Greater Council. The two Councils.

7. Eight procurators should preside at the treasury, to be composed of ex-Senators and ex-Doges. The Senators and the procurators, united, were to be called the "two colleges." Under this name they would have in common many administrative functions. The "Two Colleges."

8. That a magistracy of five censors should be appointed to see that the laws did not fall into disuse; they to have supreme authority to control all the other magistrates, and power to inflict punishment when necessary.

This constitution was at once put into opera-

tion. Oberto Lazzaro Cattaneo was elected Doge, the thirty-first of that title; Andrea Doria, who cared rather to pull the strings than to occupy a prominent position in the civil administration, was proclaimed Perpetual President of the Censors. A chair and an honorable rank in the two Councils were assigned him. On the Piazza San Matteo, a new palace was built for him at the public expense, bearing the dedication "to the Redeemer of his Country"; while in the public palace there was erected, in his honor, a marble statue "to the Avenger of his Country and the Founder of her Liberties." This statue and statues of other members of the family were attacked and broken by the mob, at a period of public frenzy, in 1797. The Golden Book was burned at the same time.

Honors to Doria.

The constitution, of which I have given the purport, continued, with only one material alteration, to be the constitution of Genoa during the lifetime of Andrea Doria. It well answered the purpose for which it was designed. For the first time in the history of Genoa, her institutions were tolerably secure, alike from personal ambition and popular clamor. This constitution, too, formed the basis of that of 1576, which lasted two hundred and twenty years, and which disappeared only when submerged by the wave of conquest born of the French Revolution.

Genoa's constitution.

It will be noticed that the constitution was

essentially aristocratic. For although perfect equality had been proclaimed, although all citizens had been declared capable of holding office in the Republic, yet the constitution was so formed that, practically, none but the nobles were really admissible. The men who had formed that constitution had had before them a task apparently of the very greatest difficulty. For, having in the first day of triumph said to the people, "There are no more distinctions between us; you are all, as we, nobles," it would seem impossible, on the very morrow of the final victory, to recede. But yet it was done, and, apparently, with the consent of all. The institution of the Golden Book was the keystone of the new arrangement. An order of hereditary nobility was thus formed, to which the working of the machine of government was intrusted; for the Greater Council, the pivot on which the administration revolved, was composed only of men whose names were inscribed in the Golden Book.

The constitution essentially aristocratic.

But that which rendered the new scheme acceptable to the majority was the necessity for the creation of new nobles. Of the more than one hundred and fifty families of the old nobility, only thirty-five remained. To these were added more than four hundred names newly ennobled. But, in order to maintain pure and intact the order of nobility, it was decided, as has been already stated, that not

Necessity for creating new nobles.

the names, but the bearers of them only, should be ennobled, and that these should be affiliated to, or grafted on, such old illustrious families as could boast of six living branches.

The old noble families.

Of these old illustrious families but thirty-five survived; and of these thirty-five, but twenty-three fulfilled the required condition. But there were other families as ancient as these twenty-three who had always claimed the privilege of belonging to the people. Of these, five, the Giustiniani, the Fornari, the Franchi, the Saoli, and the Promontori, possessed the requisite number of branches. To these twenty-eight families, all the nobles, old and new, were affiliated. There were then but twenty-eight noble houses in Genoa.

Yet the union was more nominal than real. The old families, those of the Portico Vecchio, as they were called, despised their new coadjutors, while these, on their side, styled of the Portico Nuovo, entertained the profoundest jealousy of their rivals. A sort of understanding was, however, come to between them. It was agreed verbally, though not recorded, that the offices of state should be divided equally between the two Portici, and that the Doge, whose office was biennial, should be chosen alternately from each. Both these stipulations were watched with jealousy, and it was the infraction of one of them that contributed to the general distrust which made possible the success of a conspiracy.

Jealousy of rival officers.

Andrea Doria belonged to the Portico Vecchio. His position, after the events of 1528, was peculiar. Admiral of the fleet, nominated in 1532 Prince of Melfi by the Emperor Charles V., he held no administrative office in the state, and yet he dominated all the administrators. His fleet he held at the orders of the protector of the Republic, Charles V. It was manned by officers and men devoted to him. In the Councils he exercised no authority, yet his opinion was anxiously sought for, and always eagerly followed. He was, in fact, a state within a state, impressing his will upon the latter solely by means of his vast moral influence and force of character.

Andrea Doria's position.

His moral influence.

His mode of living was remarkable. He kept no state; he walked without a following. He had soft, pleasant manners, was accessible to all, was generous and liberal in his presents, and as courteous to the beggar as to the noble. His services to Genoa had been great. He was the living representative of her glory, the wielder of her armed force, and yet, to all outward appearance, the humblest of her citizens.

[The Turks storm Belgrade (1521). Xavier, the "Apostle of the Indies," begins his mission; and Rhodes surrenders to the Turks, the Knights at first taking refuge in Italy (1522). The Union of Calmar is finally dissolved; Christian II. is deposed; Frederic I., Duke of

Gustavus Vasa.

Schleswig-Holstein, becomes King of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa, King of Sweden. The territories of the Teutonic Order are secularized; Albert of Brandenburg, Grand Master, becomes Duke of Prussia (1521). The Hungarians are defeated by the Turks at Mohacz. Louis, the last Jagellon king, is drowned in flight. The Turks take Buda, ravage the country, and burn the great library of Matthis Corvinus. Baber puts an end to the Afghan dominion and founds the empire of the Great Moguls (1526). The Medici are expelled and the Republic of Florence is restored (1527). Bengal is made tributary by Baber (1529). The Emperor gives Malta to the Knights of St. John (1530). The Anabaptists revolt and commit excesses at Munster under John of Leyden (1535), but are soon suppressed. Charles V. takes Tunis from Barbarossa and releases 20,000 Christian captives. Christian III. takes Copenhagen and establishes the Reformation in Denmark. The Turks form a league with France,—their first alliance with any Christian State (1536). A Papal Bull declares the native Americans to be rational beings (1537). In 1539, De Soto lands in Florida and advances northwest to the Mississippi, where he dies; the survivors of the expedition build boats and sail to Mexico (1543).]

Baber founds the empire of the Great Moguls.

De Soto advances to the Mississippi.

SUPPRESSION OF THE GREATER MONASTERIES

(A.D. 1534)

DAVID HUME

THERE was only one particular in which Henry was quite decisive; because he was there impelled by his avarice, or, more properly speaking, his rapacity, the consequence of his profusion: this measure was, the entire destruction of the monasteries. The present opportunity seemed favorable for that great enterprise, while the suppression of the late rebellion fortified and increased the royal authority: and as some of the abbots were suspected of having encouraged the insurrection, and of corresponding with the rebels, the King's resentment was further incited by that motive. A new visitation was appointed of all the monasteries in England; and a pretence only being wanted for their suppression, it was easy for a prince, possessed of such unlimited power, and seconding the present humor of a great part of the nation, to find or feign one. The abbots and monks knew the danger to which they were exposed; and having learned, by the example of the lesser mon-

The King determines upon destroying the monasteries.

asteries, that nothing could withstand the King's will, they were most of them induced, in expectation of better treatment, to make a voluntary resignation of their houses. Where promises failed of effect, menaces, and even extreme violence, were employed; and as several of the abbots since the breach with Rome had been named by the court with a view to this event, the King's intentions were the more easily effected. Some also, having secretly embraced the doctrine of the Reformation, were glad to be freed from their vows; and on the whole, the design was conducted with such success that in less than two years the King had possession of all the monastic revenues.

Means employed.

Attempts to preserve convents.

In several places, particularly in the County of Oxford, great interest was made to preserve some convents of women, who, as they lived in the most irreproachable manner, justly merited, it was thought, that their houses should be saved from the general destruction. There appeared also great difference between the case of nuns and that of friars; and the one institution might be laudable, while the other was exposed to much blame. The males of all ranks, if endowed with industry, might be of service to the public; and none of them could want employment suited to his station and capacity. But a woman of family who failed of a settlement in the marriage state, an accident to which such persons were

more liable than women of lower station, had really no rank which she properly filled; and a convent was a retreat both honorable and agreeable, from the inutility, and often want, which attended her situation. But the King was determined to abolish monasteries of every denomination; and probably thought that these ancient establishments would be the sooner forgotten, if no remains of them of any kind were allowed to subsist in the kingdom.

The better to reconcile the people to this great innovation, stories were propagated of the detestable lives of the friars in many of the convents; and great care was taken to defame those whom the court had determined to ruin. The relics also, and other superstitions, which had so long been the object of the people's veneration, were exposed to their ridicule; and the religious spirit, now less bent on exterior observances and sensible objects, was encouraged in this new direction. It is needless to be prolix in an enumeration of particulars: Protestant historians mention on this occasion, with great triumph, the sacred repositories of convents; the parings of St. Edmond's toes; some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the girdle of the Virgin, shown in eleven several places; two or three heads of St. Ursula; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the headache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, much

Relics exposed to ridicule.

reverenced by big-bellied women; some relics, an excellent preventive against rain; others, a remedy to weeds in corn. But such fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no particular or violent reproach to the Catholic religion.

Impostures. There were also discovered, or said to be discovered, in the monasteries, some impostures of a more artificial nature. At Hales in the County of Gloucester there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; and it is easy to imagine the veneration with which such a relic was regarded. A miraculous circumstance also attended this miraculous relic; the sacred blood was not visible to any one in mortal sin, even when set before him; and till he had performed good works sufficient for his absolution, it would not deign to discover itself to him. At the dissolution of the monastery, the whole contrivance was detected. Two of the monks who were let into the secret had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week: they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin and transparent crystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences; and then, finding his money, or pa-

tience, or faith, nearly exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

A miraculous crucifix had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*. The lips, and eyes, and head of the image moved on the approach of its votaries. Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, broke the crucifix at St. Paul's-Cross, and showed to the whole people the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved. A great wooden idol, revered in Wales, called Darvel Gatherin, was brought to London, and cut in pieces: and by a cruel refinement in vengeance it was employed as fuel to burn Friar Forrest, who was punished for denying the supremacy, and for some pretended heresies. A finger of St. Andrew, covered with a thin plate of silver, had been pawned by a convent for a debt of forty pounds; but as the King's commissioners refused to pay the debt, people made themselves merry with the poor creditor on account of the pledge.

Darvel Gatherin.

But of all the instruments of ancient superstition, no one was so zealously destroyed as the shrine of Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury. This saint owed his canonization to the zealous defence which he had made for clerical privileges; and on that account also the monks had extremely encouraged the devotion of pilgrimages toward his tomb; and numberless were the miracles which they pretended his relics

St. Thomas of Canterbury.

wrought in favor of his devout votaries. They raised his body once a year; and the day on which this ceremony was performed, which was called the day of his translation, was a general holiday: every fiftieth year there was celebrated a jubilee to his honor, which lasted fifteen days: plenary indulgences were then granted to all that visited his tomb; and a hundred thousand pilgrims have been registered at a time in Canterbury. The devotion toward him had quite effaced in that place the adoration of the Deity; nay, even that of the Virgin. At God's altar, for instance, there were offered in one year three pounds two shillings and sixpence; at the Virgin's, sixty-three pounds five shillings and sixpence; at St. Thomas's, eight hundred and thirty-two pounds twelve shillings and threepence. But next year the disproportion was still greater: there was not a penny offered at God's altar; the Virgin's gained only four pounds one shilling and eightpence; but St. Thomas had got, for his share, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and threepence. Louis VII. of France had made a pilgrimage to this miraculous tomb, and had bestowed on the shrine a jewel, esteemed the richest in Christendom. It is evident how obnoxious to Henry a saint of this character must appear, and how contrary to all his projects for degrading the authority of the court of Rome. He not only pillaged the rich shrine dedicated to St.

His offerings.

Thomas: he made the saint himself be cited to appear in court, and be tried and condemned as a traitor: he ordered his name to be struck out of the calendar; the office for his festival to be expunged from all breviaries; his bones to be burned, and the ashes to be thrown in the air. His shrine and memory desecrated.

On the whole, the King at different times suppressed six hundred and forty-five monasteries; of which twenty-eight had abbots that enjoyed a seat in Parliament. Ninety colleges were demolished in several counties; two thousand three hundred and seventy-four chantries and free chapels; a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to one hundred and sixty-one thousand one hundred pounds. It is worthy of observation that all the lands and possessions and revenues of England had a little before this period been rated at four millions a year; so that the revenue of the monks, even comprehending the lesser monasteries, did not exceed the twentieth part of the national income: a sum vastly inferior to what is commonly apprehended. The lands belonging to the convents were usually let at very low rent; and the farmers, who regarded themselves as a species of proprietors, took always care to renew their leases before they expired.

Great murmurs were everywhere excited on account of these violences; and men much General discontent

questioned whether priors and monks, who were only trustees or tenants for life, could, by any deed, however voluntary, transfer to the King the entire property of their estates. In order to reconcile the people to such mighty innovations, they were told that the King would never thenceforth have occasion to levy taxes but would be able, from the abbey lands alone, to bear, during war as well as peace, the whole charges of government.

Prodigal grants.

While such topics were employed to appease the populace, Henry took an effectual method of interesting the nobility and gentry in the success of his measures: he either made a gift of the revenues of convents to his favorites and courtiers, or sold them at low prices, or exchanged them for other lands on very disadvantageous terms. He was so profuse in these liberalities that he is said to have given a woman the whole revenue of a convent as a reward for making a pudding which happened to gratify his palate. He also settled pensions on the abbots and priors, proportioned to their former revenues or to their merits; and gave each monk a yearly pension of eight marks: he erected six new bishoprics, Westminster, Oxford, Peterborow, Bristol, Chester, and Gloucester; of which five subsist at this day: and by all these means of expense and dissipation, the profit which the King reaped by the seizure of church lands fell much short of vulgar opinion. As the ruin of

convents had been foreseen some years before it happened, the monks had taken care to secrete most of their stock, furniture, and plate; so that the spoils of the great monasteries bore not in these respects any proportion to those of the lesser.

Titles transferred.

Besides the lands possessed by the monasteries, the regular clergy enjoyed a considerable part of the benefices of England, and of the tithes annexed to them; and these were also at this time transferred to the crown, and by that means passed into the hands of laymen: an abuse which many zealous churchmen regarded as the most criminal sacrilege. The monks were formerly much at their ease in England, and enjoyed revenues which exceeded the regular and stated expense of the house. We read of the Abbey of Chertsey, in Surrey, which possessed 744 pounds a year, though it contained only fourteen monks: that of Furnese, in the County of Lincoln, was valued at 960 pounds a year, and contained about thirty. In order to dissipate their revenues, and support popularity, the monks lived in a hospitable manner: and besides the poor maintained from their offals, there were many decayed gentlemen, who passed their lives in travelling from convent to convent, and were entirely subsisted at the tables of the friars. By this hospitality, as much as by their own inactivity, did the convents prove nurseries of idleness; but the King, not to give

The King binds the new proprietors to support the ancient hospitality.

offence by too sudden an innovation, bound the new proprietors of abbey lands to support the ancient hospitality. But this engagement was fulfilled in very few places, and for a very short time.

THE COUNTER-REFORMATION

(A.D. 1540)

RICHARD LODGE

THE Reformation is usually regarded as a movement which was confined to the northern nations of Europe. But it also exercised a considerable influence in Italy, the stronghold of the Papal power. The Italian Renaissance had produced among its pupils a negative and somewhat contemptuous attitude toward religion, and this was confirmed by continual contact with the most flagrant ecclesiastical abuses. But there were not wanting earnest-minded men who were anxious to remove rather than to satirize these abuses, and who were actuated by the true spirit of the Reformation. It has been conclusively shown that Luther's special doctrine, that of justification by faith, found numerous adherents in Italy. It was held by Contarini, Sadolet, Bembo and other cardinals of the Church. It was preached in Naples by Juan Valdez, a Spaniard, in Siena by Bernardino Ochino, and in Lucca by Peter Martyr. An anonymous work, *Of the Benefits of Christ's*

Protestant doctrines in Italy.

Death, which maintained this doctrine, was published in 1540 and obtained a very large circulation. As compared with this doctrinal agreement, practical reforms were far simpler and were urged with greater unanimity.

Compromise with Protestantism.

The natural impulse of these reforming tendencies was to bring about some compromise with Protestantism and so to preserve the unity of the Church. This, as has been seen, was attempted at the Diet of Ratisbon in 1541, where the Pope was represented by Cardinal Contarini. But several causes combined to frustrate the attempt. The desire for reform was confined to the cultivated classes in Italy, and found little adherence among the people. The traditional policy of the Papacy was opposed to any concessions which might strengthen its old rival, the Empire. And the influence of the French King was employed to prevent a reconciliation between Charles V. and the German Protestants. The prospect of a compromise thus proved hopeless, and the reforming tendencies took another direction. An attempt was made to purify, and so to strengthen the Roman Catholic Church, that it might be able to confront its Protestant enemies on an equal footing. It is this movement which has received the name of the Counter-Reformation.

New religious orders; the Jesuits.

The spirit of the movement is manifested in the numerous orders which were formed in the Sixteenth Century to renew that purity

and self-sacrifice which had once characterized the older orders, but had been lost in their degradation. Such were the Theatines, founded in Rome by Caraffa, and the Barnabites, a Lombard order in Milan. But by far the most active and important of these new associations was that of the Jesuits. Their founder was Ignatius Loyola, a Spanish knight, born in the year 1491. At the siege of Pampeluna, in 1521, he was crippled by a cannon shot. During the forced inaction of his illness he read the legends of the saints, which exerted a marvellous influence on his excitable and visionary nature. He determined to emulate their achievements, and to resign his dreams of military glory for the more heroic service of the Virgin. After numerous pilgrimages he took up his abode in Paris, and there in middle age set to work to complete his neglected education. Among his fellow students he found and gained over the men who were to assist him in his great task. These were Francis Xavier, Iago Lainez, Salmeron and Bobadilla, all Spaniards, and Peter Faber, a Savoyard. In 1534, these enthusiasts bound themselves by an oath to sever themselves from the world and to devote their lives to the service of the Church. Two years later they appeared in Rome, and after many rebuffs and difficulties they obtained from Pope Paul III. the bull which constituted them "The Order of Jesus." (27th Sept. 1540.) To

Ignatius Loyola.

His companions.

their three vows of chastity, poverty and obedience they added an oath to carry out the commands of the Pope without hesitation or delay. Thus the Papacy, at a time when Europe seemed to be slipping from its grasp, received the voluntary assistance of a body of devoted men, who were destined to revive its power and influence. The order obtained the right to elect their own general, and their choice fell at once upon their founder. On Loyola's death, in 1556, he was succeeded by Lainez, a man of far less mystical enthusiasm, but endowed with greater administrative ability. To him the order owes the constitution which has made it the wonder and the model of later associations.

Secret of success.

The secret of the success of the Jesuits lay in their complete severance from all ordinary ties, from home, family and friendship, and their entire devotion to the interests of their order. Obedience was the cardinal duty which swallowed up all other motives. They renounced, on taking the vows, all right of private judgment, and blindly submitted themselves to the orders of their superiors. The order was divided into grades of varying authority, but the whole formed one vast machine which was wielded at will by the general. To enable the Jesuits to devote themselves to their special work, they were relieved from the ordinary duties of monastic orders. Thus they were not bound to the perform-

ance of the routine religious exercises of each day. Paul IV. wished to withdraw this privilege, but Lainez refused to submit, and the danger was removed by the Pope's death. From the first the Jesuits occupied a unique position among religious associations. They aroused none of the prejudices which had now grown up against monks, and they could appeal to a wider circle of sympathies. To ordinary men and women they appeared as men of the world rather than ecclesiastics. Nothing was too high or too low for them. Politics occupied great part of their attention, and here they conspicuously displayed that subordination of the means to the end which has since been a ground of accusation against them. But for a time they were very successful, and became influential advisers of kings and ministers. They also exercised great influence through the confessional, that most potent instrument of the Roman Catholic priesthood. But their power was made durable not so much by their activity as preachers and confessors, nor even by the political doctrines which they skilfully varied to suit different countries and peoples, as by their devotion to education. The Jesuit schools became the best in Europe. The thoroughness of the system which they formulated, and the fact that they taught gratis, enabled them to supersede the humanist teachers, who had hitherto claimed a monopoly of learning and enlight-

Part played in politics.

Jesuit schools.

enment. By gaining over the youth of Catholic countries, they secured their hold over future generations. The Papacy owed a great debt to the order of Loyola, which carried on a crusade against Protestantism with the military devotion and enthusiasm that characterized its founder.

The Counter-Reformation was compelled, by the instinct of self-preservation, to suppress the reforming tendencies in Italy to which it owed its origin. In 1542, Paul III., the very Pope who had shown the greatest inclination to reform, established the Inquisition in Rome on the Spanish model. The bull appointed six cardinals, of whom Caraffa was the most prominent, and empowered them to try all matters of faith and to inflict the penalties of death and confiscation upon heretics. These powers were exercised with unflinching severity. The most conspicuous reformers, as Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr, left Italy. Not content with persecuting the professors of heretical doctrines, it was determined to suppress the books in which those doctrines were maintained. The first Index, or list of proscribed writings, was published in Rome by Paul IV., who, as Cardinal Caraffa, had been the guiding spirit of the Inquisition. A regular book-police was instituted, and, supported by the secular authorities, its work was carried out with marvellous efficiency.

The Inquisition.

The Index.

There was one demand of the reforming party which could not be wholly refused, but which produced in the end very unexpected results. This was the summons of a general council. The Pope hesitated for a long time to comply with this request, though it was advanced even by Catholic princes. At last, at the urgent instance of Charles V., Paul III. summoned a council to meet in Trent at the end of 1545. The first session was short, and was deprived of importance by a quarrel between the Emperor and the Pope. Charles V. wished the council to make such reforms in the church as would enable him to come to terms with the German Protestants. The Pope's object, on the other hand, was to strengthen his own authority and to condemn all doctrinal heresy. Charles' successes in Germany terrified Paul III. for his own independence, and, in 1547, he suddenly transferred the council to Bologna. The Emperor, deeply indignant at this, protested that its decrees would now be null and void, and the council separated without having effected any important result. Paul III.'s successor, Julius III. (1550-1555), was an adherent of the Emperor, and was induced to convene the council again at Trent in 1551. But the Pope's views were still opposed to any of the concessions which were desired by Charles. The Protestants, who appeared at Trent, were treated as recusant heretics, with whom there could be

The Council of Trent.

It is re-convened.

no equal negotiation. All doctrinal points which came up for discussion, such as transubstantiation, were settled in accordance with the strictly orthodox views. But before any progress had been made in this direction, the advance of Maurice of Saxony led to the sudden breaking up of the council in 1552.

Paul IV. (1555-1559) was the representative Pope of the counter-reformation. It was he who had organized the Inquisition, and who drew up the Index. At first his hatred of the Hapsburgs diverted his attention to political affairs, and led him to confer great powers on his nephews. But on the termination of the war he altered his policy, devoted himself to establish the strictest ecclesiastical discipline, and drove all his relatives from the court. From this time nepotism, in the sense of the advancement of relatives to political power, came to an end. This had been the most flagrant vice of the Papacy, and had done much to bring it into discredit. Its removal was an important step toward the regeneration of the Romish Church.

Paul IV. abolishes nepotism.

Under Paul IV. the demand for a general council had again been raised. His successor, Pius IV. (1559-1565), gave his consent, and the third, and far the most important, session of the Council of Trent was opened in January, 1562. This session differed from the others mainly in the fact that there was no longer any idea of a reconciliation with the

The Council again meets.

Protestants, whose position in Germany had been secured by the treaty of Augsburg. The work of the council was therefore limited to the narrow circle of the Catholic nations. Within these limits it had important duties —to determine the relations between the head and the members of the Church, to settle doctrinal points which were still disputed, and to complete those internal reforms which were needed to restore the old reverence for the Church.

Important duties of the council.

It was soon evident that even among the Catholics there were grave divergences of opinion, and in especial the papal authority was exposed to attack. The Germans, acting under instructions from Ferdinand I., demanded radical reforms, such as the marriage of the clergy, the communion in both kinds, and services in the German language. The French prelates, headed by the Cardinal of Lorraine, not only supported the German demands, but took up the doctrine advanced in the last century at Constance and Basel of the superiority of a general council over the Pope. The Spaniards, while they were opposed to all doctrinal reforms, wished the episcopal authority to be recognized as of divine origin, and thus independent of the Papacy. All were opposed to the claim advanced by the papal legates to have the sole right of bringing proposals before the council. It was fortunate for the Papacy that votes were no

Divergences of opinion.

longer taken by nations as at Constance. The Italians still outnumbered the representatives of all other nations, and their interests, which were more powerful than their consciences, were on the papal side. But Pius IV. felt he was threatened by the dangers which his predecessors had always dreaded from a general council. From these he was saved partly by his own ingenuity, but still more by the dexterous diplomacy of Cardinal Morone, whom he appointed president of the council. The differences between the various nations were carefully fomented and points of concord obscured. Separate negotiations were opened with the temporal princes, and they were persuaded that the papal authority was needed to repress the growth of an independent hierarchy. At the same time it was hinted to the bishops that a strong Papacy was their only security against complete subjection to the temporal power.

Diplomacy of Pius IV.

The triumph of the Papacy being thus assured, the work of the council proceeded with marvellous rapidity. The Pope was anxious to bring it to a close, and he met with little or no opposition. In the latter half of the year 1563 a decision was come to on all important dogmatic points, indulgences, purgatory, the ordination of the clergy, the sacrament of marriage, and the worship of saints. And almost all were decided in the old Roman Catholic sense. The foremost spokes-

Triumph of the Papacy.

man of the strictly orthodox party was Lainez, the general of the Jesuits. Differences were avoided by dexterous verbal compromises, which meant nothing, as the interpretation of the decrees was vested in the Pope. Reforms were made in the direction of enforcing strict discipline over the inferior clergy, the establishment of schools, and a new regulation of parishes. But no further mention was made of reforming the central authority, the Papacy, the cardinals, and the curia. So far from maintaining its supremacy over the Pope, the council itself petitioned Pius IV. to confirm its decrees. On the 4th of December, 1563, the last sitting came to an end.

Reforms.

The Council of Trent was the last of the great ecclesiastical assemblies which are so prominent in medieval history. It had no successor till the meeting of the Vatican Council in 1869. Its importance lies in the fact that it completed the counter-Reformation. In opposition to the Protestant revolt, it formulated the old doctrines with logical distinctness. The traditions which had hitherto been open to question were henceforth established dogmas. The Catholic Church had to content itself with narrower limits, but within those limits it acquired new strength and consistency. While many of the worst abuses were removed or concealed, the old hierarchical constitution, and, above all, the despotic authority of the Papacy, received

Importance of the Council of Trent.

a new confirmation. These were the advantages which the Roman Catholic Church reaped from the Reformation, advantages which almost compensated it for the loss of territory.

Advantages to the Church.

[The Portuguese form a commercial treaty with Japan (1542). Peace is concluded between the northern powers and the Emperor; the free navigation of the Baltic is conceded to the Flemings,—a severe blow to the Hanseatic trade (1544). Francis I. persecutes the Vaudois; and the mines of Potosi are discovered (1545). The Portuguese colonize Brazil (1549). The Turks take Tripoli from the Knights of St. John (1551). The Liturgy of Edward VI. is published (1549-1552). Socinus propagates his heresy in Poland (1553). Mary I. restores the Romish religion in England (1553); and persecutes the Protestants (1555); Mercator constructs his chart (1556).]

Mercator's chart.

THE REIGN OF AKBAR

(A.D. 1556—1605)

EDWARD AUGUSTUS FREEMAN

AKBAR, the third Mogul Emperor, reigned from 1556 to 1605, being, during the greater part of that time, a contemporary of Shah Abbas the Great. But as an average Grand Mogul was far better than an average Sophi, so the most illustrious of the Moguls rises immeasurably above the most illustrious of the Sophis. If any man can be pardoned for running headlong into every sort of iniquity, it is one who finds himself possessed of uncontrolled power from his childhood. Yet Akbar went unscathed through this fearful ordeal. He ascended an Eastern throne at the age of thirteen, and reigned nearly half a century without a recorded crime. His first recorded action is worthy of his subsequent course. His tutor, Behram Khan, a bigoted Shiah Moslem, caused an Afghan chief, captive and wounded, to be brought before the young Emperor, whom he bade strike him again, in order, by shedding infidel blood, to win the rank of

Akbar's first recorded action.

Ghazi. The noble boy refused the odious task, and Behram smote off the captive's head with his own hand.

Akbar's wars.

Akbar was engaged in wars during his whole reign; but in an Eastern prince we can not harshly condemn even what we might deem unrighteous aggression. Akbar's wars, however, were chiefly waged to recover provinces to which he could pretend some shadow of right; they were far less unjust than those cruel attacks upon France which have won immortality for Edward III. and Henry V. His wars, moreover, were carried on with a moderation most unusual in Eastern lands; nations were subdued only to subject them to a far better sway than they had previously known, and the conquered constantly became the most loyal subjects of the conqueror. His legislation was in every way beneficent and humane; his flatterers undoubtedly attribute to him much that was really the work of earlier kings; but it was needless to rob others of their praise to exalt an Eastern king who, at eighteen, forbade the sale of prisoners of war as slaves, and who instructed all his governors to be sparing of the punishment of death, and never to inflict it in a lingering form. As far as my acquaintance with his actions extends, I can not find that he was ever guilty of a massacre or an unjust execution. Of how many Eastern despots can we say the like?

Akbar's humanity.

The faults of Akbar's character appear to

have been a very considerable amount of personal vanity, and a certain disposition to over-meddling with the private affairs of his subjects. His government was truly paternal; but he descended too much into trifling and puerile regulations. His *Institutes* contain too many vague moral precepts which it is hardly the business of a sovereign to instil into his subjects. A legislator may either allow or forbid polygamy; but he need hardly inform his people that their Emperor "does not approve of a man marrying more than one wife, nor of a young man marrying an old woman." I do not know how far Akbar's own practice was conformable to his precepts on the latter head; certainly, on the former, he claimed, like Mahomet, exemptions for himself. The imperial seraglio was far from empty. It was weak also and hardly tolerant to insist upon men shaving their chins, with whom it was a matter of conscience to do otherwise; nor should he have insisted on prostrations to himself, which orthodox Mussulmans thought idolatrous. Akbar's faults.

But what are defects like these when set against such an oasis in the desert of Oriental history as a forty-nine years' reign of justice, humanity, and toleration? From the beginning, Indian Mahometanism lost something of its native intolerance. I remember a newspaper full of zeal for the Grand Turk, pointing to the tolerance of the Akbar's tolerance.

Grand Mogul, as an unanswerable argument in favor of the former. Call Mahometanism intolerant! Look at Akbar! Very good. Akbar was the most tolerant of rulers; but was he a Mahometan? He was brought up in that faith; he professed it on his death-bed; but the mature judgment of his vigorous intellect rejected it during the long years of his glory. From the very first, he admitted men of all creeds to the highest offices; Hindoo Rajahs alternate with Moslem Khans among the great dignitaries of the empire. He abolished the pilgrim tax; he abolished the jezia, or capitation tax, the permanent badge of degradation upon the giaour. He listened attentively to the religious teachers of all sects and ended by putting forth a system of his own, to which, however, he constrained no man.

Was he a Mahometan?

By the creed of Akbar exclusive reverence for Mahomet or any human prophet was rejected. This eclectic creed, however, made but few converts. Akbar fully tolerated all creeds. He persecuted neither Moslem nor Hindoo; but he withdrew all legal sanction from any portion of their systems. The Moslem might, if he pleased, drink wine, eat pork, play at dice, and cease to frequent the mosque; he might not, by premature circumcision, commit an infant to a faith which he could not examine. The Hindoo widow might marry again, and she might not be burned

His creed.

against her will. He is said, however, which seems at variance with his general system, to have forbidden the slaughter of animals for sacrifice.

For him to continue the date of the Hejira would have been absurd when Islam was no longer the dominant religion; he therefore established an era dating from his own accession, and he had the good sense to make his year solar instead of lunar. The result of all this was strongly to endear his government to the mass of the Hindoo people, who now at last found themselves raised to a perfect equality with their conquerors. The valiant Rajpoots became the most loyal soldiers in the imperial army. The corresponding result was great dissatisfaction among the Mussulman population. Their creed, as under the elder Moguls of Persia, was discouraged; it was brought down from its eminence, and was obliged to meet other creeds on equal terms. Many zealots strongly opposed the imperial projects, and they met with a corresponding proportion of imperial disfavor. But no man was harmed in life, limb, or estate. Akbar's persecution went no further than ordering one bigot out of the presence-chamber, and telling another that he *deserved* a blow. He never deviated from the noble principles of toleration set forth by his minister, Abul Fazl, in the Preface to his *Institutes*—principles totally unknown in any

He establishes a new era.

other contemporary state, European or Asiatic, Mahometan or Christian, Catholic or Protestant: "Persecution, after all, defeats its own ends; it obliges men to conceal their opinions, but produces no change in them."

Persecution defeats its own ends.

BATTLE OF ST. QUENTIN AND THE LOSS OF CALAIS

(A.D. 1558)

CHARLES KNIGHT

AN English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries; the lanzknechts and reiters, the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry; and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary Princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day; and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own

A mixed host.

prudence; and thus she kept safe amid the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The Duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the Admiral of France, afterward so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the Constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force, and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the Duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand, and the prisoners were equally numerous. Among them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious King was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amid horrors which belong to such scenes at

St. Quentin invested.

Great loss of the French.

all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

Sack of the town.

The Duke of Guise, the uncle of the Queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last stronghold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobrium, and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the Continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

Importance of Calais.

"Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that

Advantages to England.

which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the Continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world. They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbor of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbor (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare, offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please,

and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the King has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around."

It is considered impregnable.

Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth

in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear."

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says it was considered. The Duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2d of January, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3d he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the Governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonized, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon,

Its real condition.

The capitulation.

without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the Duke of Guise, in the name of the French King, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armor, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompense of the like usage to the French when the forces of King Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honor of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

The great offertory.

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

(A.D. 1560—1590)

JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE

THE one essentially noble feature in the great families of Scotland was their patriotism. They loved Scotland and Scotland's freedom with a passion proportioned to the difficulty with which they had defended their liberties; and yet the wisest of them had long seen that, sooner or later, union with England was inevitable; and the question was, how that union was to be brought about—how they were to make sure that, when it came, they should take their place at England's side as equals, and not as a dependency. It had been arranged that the little Mary Stuart should marry our English Edward VI.: and the difficulty was to be settled so. They would have been contented, they said, if Scotland had had the "lad" and England the "lass." As it stood, they broke their bargain, and married the little queen away into France, to prevent the Protector Somerset from getting hold of her. Then, however, appeared an opposite danger; the Queen would become a Frenchwoman; her

Patriotism of the Scotch.

French mother would govern Scotland with French troops and French ministers; the country would become a French province and lose its freedom equally. Thus an English party began again; and as England was then in the middle of her great anti-Church revolution, so the Scottish nobles began to be anti-Church. It was not for doctrines: neither they nor their brothers in England cared much about doctrines; but in both countries the Church was rich—much richer than there seemed any occasion for it to be. Harry the Eighth had been sharing among the laity the spoils of the English monasteries; the Scotch lords saw in a similar process the probability of a welcome addition to their own scanty incomes. Mary of Guise and the French stood by the Church, and the Church stood by them; and so it came about that the great families —even those who, like the Hamiltons, were most closely connected with France—were tempted over by the bait to the other side. They did not want reformed doctrines, but they wanted the Church lands; and so they came to patronize, or endure, the Reformers, because the Church hated them, and because they weakened the Church; and thus for a time, and especially as long as Mary Stuart was Queen of France, all classes in Scotland, high and low, seemed to fraternize in favor of the revolution.

Why Scotland favored the revolution.

The great families want the Church lands.

And it seemed as if the union of the realms

could be effected at last, at the same juncture, and in connection with the same movement.

The succession.

Next in succession to the Scotch crown, after Mary Stuart, was the house of Hamilton. Elizabeth, who had just come to the English throne, was supposed to be in want of a husband. The heir of the Hamiltons was of her own age, and in years past had been thought of for her by her father. What could be more fit than to make a match between those two? Send a Scot south to be King of England, find or make some pretext to shake off Mary Stuart, who had forsaken her native country, and so join the crowns, the "lass" and the "lad" being now in the right relative position. Scotland would thus annex her own oppressor, and give her a new dynasty.

It was thus, and with these incongruous objects, that the combination was formed which overturned the old Church of Scotland in 1559-60, confiscated its possessions, destroyed its religious houses, and changed its creed.

Destruction of the Church.

The French were driven away from Leith by Elizabeth's troops; the Reformers took possession of the churches; and the Parliament of 1560 met with a clear stage to determine for themselves the future fate of the country. Now, I think it certain that, if the Scotch nobility, having once accepted the Reformation, had continued loyal to it—especially if Elizabeth had met their wishes in the important point of the marriage—the form of the Scotch

Kirk would have been something extremely different from what it in fact became. The people were perfectly well inclined to follow their natural leaders if the matters on which their hearts were set had received tolerable consideration from them, and the democratic form of the ecclesiastical constitution would have been inevitably modified. One of the conditions of the proposed compact with England was the introduction of the English Liturgy and the English Church constitution. This too, at the outset, and with fair dealing, would not have been found impossible. But it soon became clear that the religious interests of Scotland were the very last thing which would receive consideration from any of the high political personages concerned. John Knox had dreamed of a constitution like that which he had been working upon under Calvin at Geneva—a constitution in which the clergy as ministers of God should rule all things; rule politically at the council board, and rule in private at the fireside. It was soon made plain to Knox that Scotland was not Geneva. "Eh, mon," said the young Maitland to him, "then we may all bear the barrow now to build the House of the Lord." Not exactly. The churches were left to the ministers; the worldly good things and worldly power remained with the laity; and as to religion, circumstances would decide what they would do about that. Again,

Scotland's religious interests.

John Knox's ambition.

I am not speaking of all the great men of those times. Glencairn, Ruthven, young Argyll—above all, the Earl of Moray—really did in some degree interest themselves in the Kirk. But what most of them felt was perhaps rather broadly expressed by Maitland when he called religion "a bogle of the nursery." That was the expression which a Scotch statesman of those days actually ventured to use. Had Elizabeth been conformable, no doubt they would in some sense or other have remained on the side of the Reformation. But here, too, there was a serious hitch. Elizabeth would not marry Arran. Elizabeth would be no party to any of their intrigues. She detested Knox. She detested Protestantism entirely, in all shapes in which Knox approved of it. She affronted the nobles on one side, she affronted the people on another; and all idea of uniting the two crowns after the fashion proposed by the Scotch Parliament she utterly and entirely repudiated. She was right enough, perhaps, so far as this was concerned; but she left the ruling families extremely perplexed as to the course which they would follow. They had allowed the country to be revolutionized in the teeth of their own sovereign, and what to do next they did not very well know.

Elizabeth's hatred of Protestantism.

It was at this crisis that circumstances came in to their help. Francis the Second died. Mary Stuart was left a childless widow. Her

connection with the crown of France was at an end, and all danger on that side to the liberties of Scotland at an end also. The Arran scheme having failed, she would be a second card as good as the first to play for the English crown; as good as he, or better, for she would have the English Catholics on her side. So, careless how it would affect religion, and making no condition at all about that, the same men who a year before were ready to whistle Mary Stuart down the wind, now invited her back to Scotland; the same men who had been the loudest friends of Elizabeth now encouraged Mary Stuart to persist in the pretension to the crown of England, which had led to all the past trouble. While in France, she had assumed the title of Queen of England. She had promised to abandon it, but, finding her own people ready to support her in withdrawing her promise, she stood out, insisting that, at all events, the English Parliament should declare her next in the succession; and it was well known that, as soon as the succession was made sure in her favor, some rascal would be found to put a knife or a bullet into Elizabeth. The object of the Scotch nobles was political, national, patriotic. For religion it was no great matter either way; and as they had before acted with the Protestants, so now they were ready to turn about, and openly or tacitly act with the Catholics. Mary Stuart's friends in England

Mary Stuart returns to Scotland.

Her claims.

and on the Continent were Catholics, and therefore it would not do to offend them. First, she was allowed to have mass at Holyrood; then there was a move for broader toleration. That one mass, Knox said, was more terrible to him than ten thousand armed men landed in the country, and he had perfectly good reason for saying so. He thoroughly understood that it was the first step toward a counter-revolution, which in time would cover all Scotland and England, and carry them back to Popery. Yet he preached to deaf ears. Even Murray was so bewitched with the notion of the English succession, that for a year and a half he ceased to speak to Knox; and as it was with Murray, so it was far more with all the rest, their zeal for religion was gone no one knew where. Of course, Elizabeth would not give way. She might as well, she said, herself prepare her shroud; and then conspiracies came, and underground intrigues with the Romanist English noblemen. France and Spain were to invade England; Scotland was to open its ports to their fleets, and its soil to their armies, giving them a safe base from which to act, and a dry road over the Marches to London. And if Scotland had remained unchanged from what it had been—had the direction of its fortunes remained with the Prince and with the nobles—sooner or later it would have come to this. But suddenly it appeared that there was a new power in this

Mass at Holyrood.

England's danger.

country which no one suspected till it was felt.

The commons of Scotland had hitherto been the creatures of the nobles. They had neither will nor opinion of their own. They thought and acted in the spirit of their immediate allegiance. No one seems to have dreamed that there would be any difficulty in dealing with them if once the great families agreed upon a common course. Yet it appeared, when the pressure came, that religion, which was the plaything of the nobles, was to the people a clear matter of life and death. They might love their country; they might be proud of anything which might add lustre to its crown; but if it was to bring back the Pope and Popery—if it threatened to bring them back—if it looked that way, they would have nothing to do with it; nor would they allow it to be done. Allegiance was well enough; but there was a higher allegiance suddenly discovered which superseded all earthly considerations. I need not follow the wild story of the crimes and catastrophes in which Mary Stuart's short reign in Scotland closed. Neither is her own share, be it great or small, or none at all, in those crimes, of any moment to us here. It is enough that, both before that strange business and after it, when at Holyrood or across the Border, in Sheffield or Tutbury, her ever favorite dream was still the English throne. Her road toward it was through a Catholic

The commons of Scotland aroused.

Mary's favorite dream.

revolution and the murder of Elizabeth. It is enough that, both before and after, the aristocracy of Scotland, even those among them who had seemed most zealous for the Reformation, were eager to support her. John Knox alone, and the commons, whom Knox had raised into a political power, remained true.

Much, indeed, is to be said for the Scotch nobles. In the first shock of the business at Kirk-o'-Field, they forgot their politics in a sense of national disgrace. They sent the Queen to Loch Leven. They intended to bring her to trial, and, if she was proved guilty, to expose and, perhaps, punish her. All parties for a time agreed to this, even the Hamiltons themselves; and had they been left alone they would have done it. But they had a perverse neighbor in England, to whom crowned heads were sacred. Elizabeth, it might have been thought, would have had no particular objection; but Elizabeth had aims of her own which baffled calculation. Elizabeth, the representative of revolution, yet detested revolutionists. The Reformers in Scotland, the Huguenots in France, the insurgents in the United Provinces, were the only friends she had in Europe. For her own safety she was obliged to encourage them; yet she hated them all, and would at any moment have abandoned them all, if in any she could have secured herself. She might have conquered

Mary sent to Loch Leven.

her personal objection to Knox; she could not conquer her aversion to a Church which rose out of revolt against authority, which was democratic in constitution and republican in politics. When driven into alliance with the Scotch Protestants, she angrily and passionately disclaimed any community of creed with them; and for subjects to sit in judgment on their prince was a precedent which she would not tolerate. Thus she flung her mantle over Mary Stuart. She told the Scotch Council here in Edinburgh that, if they hurt a hair of her head, she would harry their country, and hang them all on the trees round the town, if she could find any trees there for that purpose. She tempted the Queen to England, with her fair promises, after the battle of Langside, and then, to her astonishment, imprisoned her. Yet she still shielded her reputation, still fostered her party in Scotland, still incessantly threatened and incessantly endeavored to restore her. She kept her safe, because, in her lucid intervals, her ministers showed her the madness of acting otherwise. Yet for three years she kept her own people in a fever of apprehension. She made a settled government in Scotland impossible; till, distracted and perplexed, the Scottish statesmen went back to their first schemes. They assured themselves that in one way or other the Queen of Scots would sooner or later come again among them. They, and others besides them,

Elizabeth protects her enemy.

Settled government impossible.

believed that Elizabeth was cutting her own throat, and that the best they could do was to recover their own Queen's favor, and make the most of her and her titles; and so they lent themselves again to the English Catholic conspiracies.

Assassination of Moray.

The Earl of Moray—the one supremely noble man then living in the country—was put out of the way by an assassin. French and Spanish money poured in, and French and Spanish armies were to be again invited over to Scotland. This is the form in which the drama unfolds itself in the correspondence of the time. Maitland, the soul and spirit of it all, said, in scorn, that "he would make the Queen of England sit upon her tail and whine like a whipped dog." The only powerful noblemen who remained on the Protestant side were Lennox, Morton, and Mar. Lord Lennox was a poor creature, and was soon despatched; Mar was old and weak; and Morton was an unprincipled scoundrel, who used the Reformation only as a stalking horse to cover the spoils which he had clutched in the confusion, and was ready to desert the cause at any moment if the balance of advantage shifted. Even the ministers of the Kirk were fooled and flattered over. Maitland told Mary Stuart that he had gained them all except one.

The Scotch lords.

John Knox alone defied both his threats and his persuasions. Good reason has Scot-

land to be proud of Knox. He only, in this wild crisis, saved the Kirk which he had founded, and saved with it Scottish and English freedom. But for Knox, and what he was able still to do, it is almost certain that the Duke of Alva's army would have been landed on the eastern coast. The conditions were drawn out and agreed upon for the reception, the support, and the stay of the Spanish troops. Two-thirds of the English peerage had bound themselves to rise against Elizabeth; and Alva waited only till Scotland itself was quiet. Only that quiet would not be. Instead of quiet came three dreadful years of civil war. Scotland was split into factions, to which the mother and the son gave names. The Queen's lords, as they were called, with unlimited money from France and Flanders, held Edinburgh and Glasgow; all the border line was theirs, and all the north and west. Elizabeth's Council, wiser than their mistress, barely squeezed out of her reluctant parsimony enough to keep Mar and Morton from making terms with the rest; but there her assistance ended. She would still say nothing, promise nothing, bind herself to nothing, and, so far as she was concerned, the war would have been soon enough brought to a close. But away at St. Andrews, John Knox, broken in body, and scarcely able to stagger up the pulpit stairs, still thundered in the parish church; and his voice, it was said, was like

John Knox saves the Kirk.

Elizabeth's parsimony.

The Lowlands rise.

ten thousand trumpets braying in the ear of Scottish Protestantism. All the Lowlands answered to his call. Our English Cromwell found in the man of religion a match for the man of honor. Before Cromwell, all over the Lothians, and across from St. Andrews to Stirling and Glasgow—through farm, and town, and village—the words of Knox had struck the inmost chords of the Scottish commons' hearts. Passing over knight and noble, he had touched the farmer, the peasant, the petty tradesman, and the artisan, and turned the men of clay into men of steel. The village preacher, when he left his pulpit, doffed cap and cassock, and donned morion and steel-coat. The Lothian yeoman's household became for the nonce a band of troopers, who would cross swords with the night riders of Buccleuch. It was a terrible time, a time rather of anarchy than of defined war, for it was without form or shape. Yet the horror of it was everywhere. Houses and villages were burned, and women and children tossed on pike-point into the flames. Strings of poor men were dangled day after day from the walls of Edinburgh Castle. A word any way from Elizabeth would have ended it, but that word Elizabeth would never speak; and, maddened with suffering, the people half believed that she was feeding the fire for her own bad purposes, when it was only that she would not make up her mind to allow a crowned

Bloodshed and anarchy.

princess to be dethroned. No earthly influence could have held men true in such a trial. The noble lords—the Earl of Morton and such like—would have made their own conditions, and gone with the rest; but the vital force of the Scotch nation, showing itself where it was least looked for, would not have it so.

Mary's flag still floats.

All this while civil war was raging, and the flag of Queen Mary was still floating over Edinburgh Castle. It surprised the English; still more it surprised the politicians. It was the one thing which disconcerted, baffled, and finally ruined the schemes and the dreams of Maitland. When he had gained the aristocracy, he thought that he had gained everybody, and, as it turned out, he had all his work still to do. The Spaniards did not come. The prudent Alva would not risk invasion till Scotland at least was assured. As time passed on, the English conspiracies were discovered and broken up. The Duke of Norfolk lost his head; the Queen of Scots was found to have been mixed up with the plots to murder Elizabeth; and Elizabeth at last took courage and recognized James. Supplies of money ceased to come from abroad, and gradually the tide turned. The Protestant cause once more grew toward the ascendant. The great families, one by one, came round again; and, as the backward movement began, the massacre of St. Bartholomew gave it a fresh and tremen-

Elizabeth recognizes James.

dous impulse. Even the avowed Catholics—the Hamiltons, the Gordons, the Scotts, the Kers, the Maxwells,—quailed before the wail of rage and sorrow which at that great horror rose over their country. The Queen's party dwindled away to a handful of desperate politicians, who still clung to Edinburgh Castle. But Elizabeth's "peacemakers," as the big English cannon were called, came round, at the Regent's request, from Berwick; David's Tower, as Knox had long ago foretold, "ran down over the cliff like a sandy brae"; and the cause of Mary Stuart in Scotland was extinguished forever. Poor Grange, who deserved a better end, was hanged at the Market Cross. Secretary Maitland, the cause of all the mischief,—the cleverest man, as far as intellect went, in all Britain,—died (so later rumor said) by his own hand.

Mary's cause is extinguished.

With the fall of the Castle, then, but not till then, it became clear to all men that the Reformation would hold its ground. It was the final trampling out of the fire which for five years had threatened both England and Scotland with flames and ruin. For five years—as late certainly as the massacre of St. Bartholomew—those who understood best the true state of things, felt the keenest misgivings how the event would turn. That things ended as they did was due to the spirit of the Scotch commons. There was a moment when, if they had given way, all would have gone, perhaps

The Reformation triumphs.

even to Elizabeth's throne. They had passed for nothing; they had proved to be everything; had proved—the ultimate test in human things—to be the power which could hit the hardest blows, and they took rank accordingly. The creed began now in good earnest to make its way into hall and castle; but it kept the form which it assumed in the first hours of its danger and trial, and never after lost it. Had the aristocracy dealt sincerely with things in the earlier stages of the business, again I say the democratic element in the Kirk might have been softened or modified. But the Protestants had been trifled with by their own natural leaders. Used and abused by Elizabeth, despised by the worldly intelligence and power of the times, they triumphed after all, and, as a natural consequence, they set their own mark and stamp upon the fruits of the victory.

The creed makes its way.

MALTA AND LEPANTO

(A.D. 1565—1573)

CHARLOTTE M. YONGE

THE Othman Empire had, under Soliman the Magnificent, attained its greatest extent, nearly identical with that of the ancient Eastern Empire, and in union with the Moors of Africa his power had become so formidable that the Mediterranean was a region of great danger to all Christian vessels.

Soliman's power.

The Knights of St. John, in the rocky island of Malta, were the most steady and formidable opponents of his vessels; and, repenting of having spared the Order when he had driven it from Rhodes, he now resolved to overwhelm it completely, and effect its destruction.

He therefore fitted out a fleet of one hundred and fifty-nine vessels, containing thirty thousand Janissaries and Spahis, and followed by hosts of transports for artillery and stores, all under the command of his two bravest Pachas, Mustafa and Piali, in conjunction with Dragut, a noted Moorish Corsair. The

Expedition against Malta.

Grand Master who had to meet this storm, was Jean Parisot de la Valette, a true Hospitalier, excelling equally as priest, knight, and sick nurse, and, though seventy years of age, in full vigor of mind and body. He called in his knights from the different commanderies, and found them to amount to seven hundred, with eight thousand and five hundred other troops, and to these he made a beautiful address, exhorting them to give their lives in defence of the Gospel against the Koran, as a sacrifice to him to whom they were already pledged, and calling them to come to the Altar, there to receive the Body and Blood of him who could render them invincible by their contempt of death.

The Grand Master prepares to meet the Infidels.

Daily, while waiting for the enemy, and preparing the defences, each knight was a communicant, and thus both outwardly and inwardly did the Order arm against the foe. The port of Malta consisted of two principal harbors, separated by a tongue of land, where stood a castle named Fort St. Elmo. This was considered as the key of the position; it was garrisoned by three hundred knights under the bailiff of Negropont, who promised to do their utmost to hold out till aid should come from the Spanish fleet, which was preparing in the Sicilian harbors. If St. Elmo should fall, the Duke of Alva, Viceroy of Sicily, declared that no succor could be expected, he should deem the Order past his power of

Devotion of the Order.

assistance, and would not sacrifice his master's troops.

Fort St. Elmo attacked.

On the 24th of May, 1565, the mighty Turkish armament commenced the attack of the little fort, when the huge stone cannon-balls effected such fearful damage, that the bailiff sent the Chevalier de la Cerda to the Borgo, or main city, to request further succor. La Cerda even declared that it was impossible to hold out a week, the fort was an exhausted patient, only to be supported by constant cordials.

"I will be physician," said La Valette. "I will bring those with me who, if they can not cure you of your fright, will at least, by their valor, save the castle from the Infidels."

He would have shut himself up in the fort, but was opposed by the whole Chapter, and, indeed, La Cerda had done injustice to the rest of the garrison; no one there was faint-hearted save himself, and while he, on the excuse of a slight hurt, was carried back to the Borgo, others, after mortal wounds, would not be assisted from the walls, but crawled alone to the chapel to die before the Altar. The bailiff, and other aged men, severely wounded, and scorched and disfigured by the sun, toiled constantly to bring earth to fill up the crumbling ramparts, and, after spending whole days in the deadly conflict, passed the night in prayer and in binding up each other's wounds. La Valette sent them all the aid in his power, and wistful eyes were strained over the sea

La Cerda's cowardice.

for the tardy fleets of Spain, but they came not, and the Turkish cannon daily did more fearful damage. On the night of the 23d of June, the devoted band knew their time was come. They celebrated the Holy Eucharist for the last time in their chapel, and, after embracing each other, they returned at dawn to the walls, those who were unable to stand being carried in chairs, that at least they might die in the defence. Here they were all slain, and the Turks had won the fort, but only by a loss of eight thousand men, and of Dragut himself. "Since the son has cost us so much, what may we not look for from the father!" exclaimed Mustafa Pacha.

Loss of St. Elmo.

Though St. Elmo was lost, and with it the promise of aid, the knights did not lose courage, and when summoned to surrender, answered the Turks by pointing to the ditch, and saying, "That is the only place we intend for you." Daily was the battle renewed, and fearful was the slaughter within and without. La Cerda expiated his weakness by a gallant death; a son of Alva, and a nephew of La Valette, both fell, and the Grand Master refused all special condolence for Henri de la Valette, saying that all alike were his brethren and children.

Death of La Cerda.

Months went by, and at last Philip II., whose cold-hearted design it seems to have been to let the Turks exhaust themselves against Malta, thought the extremity suffi-

Philip sends tardy aid.

cient, and permitted Alva to send a fleet to disembark six thousand men, and then at once return. These arrived on the 7th of September, and landed while the Turks were assaulting the town. The tidings of their coming spread such a panic among the enemy, that Mustafa drew his men out of St. Elmo, and re-embarked, abandoning his artillery. Learning the real numbers, he was ashamed, and landed his weary troops much against their will, and only to find that in this interval his lines had been destroyed, and St. Elmo again occupied by the gallant Maltese. He gave battle to the reinforcement, suffered a total defeat, and the next day weighed anchor, and sailed for Constantinople, leaving behind the corpses of twenty-five thousand of the best soldiers and mariners of Turkey.

Mustafa retires.

The reinforcement entered the Borgo in triumph, but found it a sad spectacle, looking as if it had really been taken by assault, with huge gaps in the walls, shattered houses, empty magazines, the Grand Master and knights pale and haggard, their garments stained, their armor broken, their hair and beard untrimmed, as men who had not undressed for many weeks, and few unwounded of the small remnant of the gallant band who had vowed to sacrifice all for the defence of their island.

La Valette's honors.

Every honor was paid to La Valette; the Pope offered him a cardinal's hat, and Philip

II. sent him a sword and dagger with a hilt of precious stones, a poor requital for the glorious blood which Spain had allowed to be shed like water. These trophies were, however, together with the Great Standard of St. John, borne in solemn procession to the Cathedral, on the holiday of thanksgiving yearly held on the 8th of September. The Borgo was thenceforth called Vittoriosa, but La Valette, perceiving that the peninsula of Mount Sceberras afforded better means of defence, founded a new city there, called by his name, Valetta, which has since been the capital of Malta. He died in 1568, from a *coup de soleil,* while superintending the works. His death.

Philip was not safe from the Mahometan forces, even in his own domains. Many of the Moors of Granada, to whom Fernando and Isabel had only given the choice of Christianity or banishment, had, indeed, been baptized, but retained their Moslem faith and habits. Of these Moriscos, as they were called, the Inquisition took cognizance, and this persecution excited a terrible revolt in the mountains of the Alpuxarras. The Moriscos shook off the name of Christians, and electing as their king a youth of the old royal line, who took the Moorish name of Aben Humeya, they made forays on the Christian villages, retaliating by their cruelties what they had themselves suffered. Their kinsmen, the African Moors, came to their aid, and they The Moriscoe.

sent to ask succor from Constantinople. Had it been granted, the Koran might again have been dominant in Spain, but the able Sultan, Solyman, had died in 1566, and his son, Selim III., called Most, or the drunkard, neglected their appeal. Philip sent an army against them, under the nominal command of Don Juan of Austria. This youth was the son of Charles V. by a German lady, and had been brought up by a knightly old hidalgo, Don Luis de Quixada, without revealing the secret of his birth even to his wife, Dona Magdalena, who loved the boy as her own son. On his deathbed Charles recommended him to Philip, who acknowledged him as his brother, and placed him at the head of the army, though, as he was only twenty-two, he was under the control of an experienced officer, Don Luis de Resquesnes. The Moriscos could not make head against regular troops, and were obliged to lay down their arms, after the loss of several skirmishes, in one of which Quixada was mortally wounded. He died, attended like a father by Don Juan, who ever regarded Dona Magdalena as a mother. The unfortunate Moriscos were treated with horrible cruelty, as apostates, and though some escaped to Africa, and others led a wild life of robbery in the mountain fastnesses, in a few generations the whole remnant was lost.

Don Juan.

The Moriscos are beaten.

The cause of the neglect of their petition to the Sultan was his eagerness to win Cyprus

from the Venetians, an enterprise said to have been inspired by a renegade Portuguese Jew, who used to carouse with him, and who incited him to gain his favorite Cyprus wine for the pressing, instead of the buying, till he swore by the Prophet to conquer the beautiful isle, and make the Jew king of it.

Selim wants Cyprus.

The arsenal of Venice had been destroyed by an accidental explosion of gunpowder, and it was impossible to send effectual succors to Bragadino, the Governor of Cyprus. A mighty fleet sailed under Mustafa Pacha against Famagosta, landing such hosts that the white turbans covered the fields like a fall of snow, and, though the garrison held out nobly for four months, they were forced to surrender in August, 1571, after having slain fifty thousand Turks. The unfortunate Bragadino was treated with savage barbarity, forced for ten days to carry baskets of earth to repair the ramparts he had defended, and finally flayed alive. His skin was stuffed and carried to Constantinople on the bowsprit of Mustafa's galley, but was afterward ransomed, and placed in an urn in the Church of San Giovanni, at Venice.

Gallantry of the garrison.

The Doge, Luigi Mocenigo, now entered into a league with the Pope and the King of Spain for the defence of Christendom, and a fleet was fitted out at their joint expense, consisting of two hundred and fourteen vessels, which were placed under the command of

Alliance of Venice, Rome, and Spain.

Don Juan of Austria, and sailed to meet the Turkish fleet in their own waters.

On October 7th, 1571, they came in sight of two hundred and seventy-five Turkish sail under Ali Pacha, in front of the Gulf of Lepanto, near the scene of the battle of Actium. A council of war was held, and hesitated to risk a combat, but Don Juan silenced doubt. "Activity, not advice, is wanting," he said, and he went from ship to ship, exhorting the crews like a Christian Knight, and giving liberty to the convicts chained to the oar, as he bade them fight for Christ, to whom their freedom was owing. The crusading spirit flew through the fleet, the captains displayed the crucifix, and laying aside national jealousies and private discords, the whole fleet seemed to be impelled by one soul.

Battle of Lepanto.

The two fleets were each in three divisions. The Turkish right, under the Governor of Alexandria, was utterly destroyed, scarcely a man escaping; and in the centre Don Juan four times boarded the flagship, and at last captured it, and set up the head of Ali Pacha on the mast. Ulucci Ali, a renegade in command of the Algerine squadron, made a better resistance, captured a Maltese vessel, and burned a Venetian ship, and finally effected his retreat with twenty or thirty vessels, the sole remains of the splendid Othman fleet.

The Turkish right destroyed.

Ali's magnificent galley was given to Don Juan, who presented to the Greek who had

slain the Pacha, the gilt staff of the Turkish standard, of massive silver, covered with inscriptions. It was purchased as a trophy by the Venetians.

Great were the general rejoicings. The Venetians struck medals in honor of St. Justina, on whose day the battle had been fought, and appointed a national holiday for her festival. The Pope, in his delight, applied to Don Juan the Gospel words, "There was a man sent from God whose name was John," and proposed to pursue the victory, and to found a Christian realm at Tunis, with him for its King. Philip was, however, jealous of his brother, and when the fleet again assembled, sent only twenty-two ships instead of the one hundred he had promised. Nothing decisive could be attempted, and peace was concluded in 1573, leaving Cyprus in possession of the Turks.

General rejoicings.

RISE OF THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

(A.D. 1568—1648)

RICHARD LODGE

IN Philip's Italian provinces, Milan, Naples, and Sicily, his system of government was introduced with complete success, but in the Netherlands it provoked a storm of opposition which wrecked the power of Spain.

The Netherlands.

The Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, each possessed of independent institutions and inhabited by populations of differing character. They had become united by falling under the rule of the Dukes of Burgundy, from whom they had passed to the Hapsburgs. But the union under a common government had done little or nothing to put an end to provincial differences. Under Charles V., himself a Netherlander by birth, some advance had been made toward the formation of a central government. A supreme court of justice had been founded at Mechlin, and deputies from the various provinces were

The States-General.

summoned to form the States-General. But Charles had been too cautious to make any determined attack upon local privileges, and the

Netherlands remained a loose federation. In one point only had he shown uncompromising purpose, in his opposition to religious reform. An edict of 1550 threatened heretics with the severest penalties, and a board of inquisitors, or as they were euphemistically called, "ecclesiastical judges," was formed to enforce them. But in spite of this severity the Netherlands were quite submissive when they were transferred to Philip II. in 1555.

Hatred of Philip.

The new ruler soon made himself as hated as his predecessor had been loved. His first act was to renew the edict of 1550. When he departed for Spain, in 1559, he showed his contempt for the feelings and prejudices of his subjects in the appointment of a governor. Passing over the claims of the native nobles, he gave the post to his half-sister, Margaret of Parma, the pupil of Ignatius Loyola and the devoted instrument of Philip's reactionary policy. Her chief minister was Cardinal Granvella, a Burgundian whose father had been an influential adviser of Charles V. With him were united Barlaymont, a noble, and Viglius, a lawyer. These three formed the Consulta, or secret council, and their influence rendered powerless the recognized Council of State, in which the great nobles had seats.

Margaret of Parma.

The establishment of this anti-national government provoked widespread discontent, which found immediate vent in complaints

against the continued presence of Spanish troops after the King's departure. So threatening was the opposition, that Philip, much against his will, was compelled to withdraw the troops. But no sooner was this concession made than a new ground of complaint was furnished by proposed ecclesiastical changes. At this time there were only four bishoprics in the Netherlands, Arras, Cambray, Tournay, and Utrecht. Philip obtained a bull from Pius IV. in 1560, creating fourteen new bishoprics, with three archbishoprics at Mechlin, Cambray, and Utrecht. This extension of the hierarchy was felt to be a general grievance. The secular estates dreaded the great development of the Spanish and ecclesiastical power, while even the clergy were discontented by the proposal to confiscate church property for the endowment of the new sees. The doctrines of Luther and Calvin had already made considerable progress in spite of the edicts. They now became a political power.

Spanish troops withdrawn.

The lead of the opposition was taken by the great nobles, who felt themselves excluded from their due share of the government. At their head were three men, William of Orange, Count Egmont, and Admiral Horn. Egmont was a soldier who had won great distinction in the battles of St. Quentin and Gravelines. His bravery and his loyalty were equally conspicuous, but his devotion to the

Count Egmont.

interests of the country and the feeling that his great services were unrequited combined to place him unwillingly in opposition to the crown. He was a sincere Catholic and had no sympathy with the reformed doctrine. William of Orange was a man of very different stamp and of far greater importance. He was the descendant of the German house of Nassau, which had acquired large possessions in the Netherlands. His grandfather, Engelbert II., had divided his territories between his two sons, Henry and William. Henry, the elder, who received the lands in the Netherlands, brought the principality of Orange into the family by his marriage with the sister of that Prince of Orange who commanded at the siege of Rome in 1527. On the death of his son, Réné, in 1544, both Orange and the territories in the Netherlands fell to the younger branch of Nassau, which was now represented by William, the grandson of Engelbert. The Prince who thus obtained so magnificent an inheritance was at the time only eleven years old, having been born at Dillenburg in 1533. He was now taken into the service of Charles V., became a page in the imperial household, and there gave up the reformed faith in which he had been brought up. He became a favorite with Charles, who employed him on important embassies. He was still quite a young man, and little was known of his character when the accession of

The principality of Orange.

Philip II. called him to play an important part in the history of Europe.

The opposition directed itself, in the first place, against Granvella, who was designed to be Archbishop of Mechlin and Primate of the Netherlands. The nobles formed a league among themselves, and refused to take any share in the conduct of business until the minister was removed. At last even the Regent herself, who had no love for the man whose advice was often preferred to her own, joined in the demand for Granvella's removal. In 1564, Philip felt himself reluctantly compelled to accede. The Cardinal was requested to withdraw of his own accord for the sake of peace. But his conduct had earned rather than forfeited the esteem of his master. After a brief residence on his estates at Besançon, he was summoned to Madrid, where he remained an influential crown-adviser till his death in 1586.

League of the nobles.

The nobles soon found that they had no reason to regard Granvella's recall as a triumph. Philip was determined to make no change in his system of government; the enforced concession only increased his obstinacy. He ordered the decrees of the Council of Trent to be promulgated in the Netherlands, and enjoined on the Regent a strict enforcement of the edicts against heresy. His commands were obeyed, but the persecution only strengthened the movement it was intended to suppress.

Philip's obstinacy.

The nobles despatched Egmont to Madrid in 1565, to represent to the King the evils of the policy which he was pursuing. Philip befooled the loyal but vain Count by the pomp of his reception, and promised increased moderation. Egmont returned with the conviction that his mission had been altogether successful. But Philip was unmoved; new and more severe edicts were issued: the relentless severity of the persecution was increased. Thousands of skilled Flemish workmen were driven to take refuge in England, where the politic Elizabeth received them with open arms.

In the midst of the general excitement, a league was formed against the Inquisition, called the Compromise. Its founders were St. Aldegonde, Brederode, and Lewis of Nassau, William's brother. It was joined by 500 of the lesser nobles, and also by a number of burghers. It derived additional importance from the fact that many of the members were Catholics. The greater nobles, not yet prepared for extreme measures, held aloof. A petition to the Regent was prepared and presented by Brederode at the head of 300 followers. Barlaymont contemptuously told Margaret not to be afraid of those beggars. The nickname was gleefully adopted, and the most determined of Philip's opponents were henceforth known as the "Beggars."

"The Compromise."

"The Beggars."

While the Regent was making vain efforts

to satisfy complaints, and at the same time to obey her brother, the movement of opposition spread from the nobles to the lower classes. Everywhere the Calvinist preachers collected crowds of armed and enthusiastic hearers. Riots broke out, and the images and ornaments in the churches were destroyed by the iconoclastic fury of the mob. In the face of this general rebellion the edicts could not be carried out. The Regent wished to escape from Brussels, but was prevented by Egmont and Orange, who promised to support her authority if she would consent to abolish the Inquisition. She was unable to refuse, and they at once set to work to restore order.

But meanwhile the news of the disorders had infuriated Philip II. He refused to recognize the concessions which his sister had made. He ordered the renewal of the old edicts, and determined to send Alva to the Netherlands to carry them out by force of arms. William of Orange, who had endeavored to conciliate Spain by the suppression of tumult, was so depressed at the news of this determination that he retired to his German territories. Alva was merely a brutal soldier with no conception of the duties or methods of civil government. He found the provinces at peace, and by conciliatory measures might have secured them to Spain. But severity had been enjoined by his master, and was also congenial to his own nature. His violence

Alva sent to the Netherlands.

excited the bitterest hatred of Spanish rule and gave rise to a revolt which developed into a struggle for life and death. Margaret of Parma, who found her measures reversed and her authority superseded, soon quitted the Netherlands.

Alva's first act was to arrest Egmont and Horn, though they had lately given conspicuous support to the government. His great regret was that the Prince of Orange had escaped his clutches. He erected an extraordinary court of justice, the "Council of Disorders," which the people called the "Council of Blood." Arrest of Egmont and Horn. The Council of Blood.

The persecution which now commenced resembled a massacre rather than a judicial proceeding. The Protestant powers of Europe were profoundly moved. Philip II. received a strong remonstrance from his cousin, Maximilian II., but disregarded it. In the Netherlands the feeling of dismay was even stronger for a time than the instinctive desire for resistance. But William of Orange, who heard of these events in his castle of Dillenburg, was convinced that now or never was the time for him to move. He formally announced his adhesion to Calvinism. An army was collected composed of German mercenaries, French Huguenots, and exiles from the Netherlands. One division of this force, under the command of Lewis of Nassau, defeated a detachment of Spaniards at Heiligerlee William of Orange becomes a Calvinist.

(24th of May, 1568). The great revolt of the Netherlands had begun.

Execution of Egmont and Horn.

The news of the defeat decided Alva to conduct the war in person. Before leaving Brussels, he had Egmont and Horn tried and executed, an event which sent a thrill of horror through Europe. He then marched to meet Lewis of Nassau, and defeated him at the battle of Jemmingen. It was in vain that William of Orange advanced in person into Brabant to retrieve this loss. Alva refused to meet him in battle, and want of money and provisions compelled the Prince to retreat. With his brother and the remnant of his forces, William took part in the Huguenot campaign of 1569 in France. Alva boasted that the revolt was crushed. A perfect reign

A reign of terror.

of terror ensued in the Netherlands, which were treated as a conquered country. Not only were the previous cruelties revived with still more reckless severity; Alva also developed a new system of taxation, which was to bring vast revenues to the Spanish crown. His ignorance of public economy was equal to his

Failure of financial measures.

ferocity, and produced results quite as disastrous. He proposed in March, 1569, to impose a tax of a hundredth penny, or one per cent on all property. All sales of real property were taxed at five per cent, and of movables at ten. A commercial community, like that of the Netherlands, was threatened with complete ruin by such impositions.

Even Alva's obstinacy was unable to carry his proposals against the opposition of the most devoted adherents to Spain. One commodity after another was excepted from the taxes, which brought in little or nothing. Alva's financial measures proved a failure, and they convinced even Philip II. of his representative's incompetence. The brief period of Spanish despotism brought ruin to the industry of the Netherlands. Manufactures and commerce began to pass over to England. The place of Bruges and Antwerp was taken by London.

Alva is recalled.

Alva's recall had been decided upon, but he continued to hold office till the appointment of a successor. But he remained only to witness the fall of the edifice which he had reared on a foundation of violence and bloodshed. In 1572, the "sea beggars," exiles who had found refuge on the English coast and a means of a subsistence in piracy, attacked and captured the town of Brill. This was followed by a general revolt of the northern provinces. Lewis of Nassau, by a bold movement, made himself master of the fortress of Mons (Bergen) in Hainault, in the heart of the Spanish power. From this time all the efforts of Spain could never restore complete subjection. On July 18, 1572, the States of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and Utrecht acknowledged the authority of William of Orange as stadtholder. Everything seemed

Revolt of the northern provinces.

to favor the cause of liberty: assistance was confidently expected from France, then under the influence of Coligny. But the massacre of St. Bartholomew and the change of French policy put an end to this hope, and restored the superiority of the Spanish arms. Mons was forced to surrender, and Alva's son, Frederick, undertook the conquest of the northern provinces. Zutphen, Naarden and Haarlem were besieged and taken; but at last the heroism of the inhabitants of Alkmaar forced the Spaniards to retreat. But meanwhile Alva, conscious of failure and weary of a war in which success could bring no honor, had himself petitioned for a recall. In December, 1573, he left the Netherlands, where his name was long remembered with dismay and horror.

Spanish successes.

Alva's successor, Don Luis de Requesens, was an able soldier, and was personally inclined to moderate measures. But he was tied down by his instructions from Philip, who was determined not to give way. The three demands of William of Orange—the withdrawal of Spanish troops, restoration of the old constitution, and religious freedom—were rejected, and the war went on. Lewis of Nassau, with his brother Henry, were defeated and slain at the battle of Mooker Heath (April, 1574). But this disaster was redeemed by the relief of Leyden. Besieged by the Spaniards for seven months and reduced to the direst necessities, the inhabitants still

Alva's successor.

The relief of Leyden.

held out till the advance of Orange compelled the raising of the siege (October, 1574). The University of Leyden was founded, on William's suggestion, to commemorate this heroic incident in the history of the town. The next year was occupied with futile negotiations at Breda and military movements of slight importance. But the sudden death of Requesens, in March, 1576, brought with it important changes.

Death of Requesens.

During the interval that elapsed before the appointment of a new governor, the conduct of affairs devolved on the council of state in Brussels. The Spanish troops, whose pay was in hopeless arrears, had for some time been on the verge of mutiny. They now openly refused obedience to a civil government, and seized and plundered a number of the most wealthy cities. The sack of Antwerp, which lasted three days, during which the inhabitants were treated with the greatest barbarity, received the name of the Spanish Fury. These events enabled William of Orange to realize his great desire of combining the southern with the northern provinces in a common cause. The conduct of the soldiery brought into prominence the political interests which united the provinces, and obscured for a time their religious differences. The Pacification of Ghent was signed in November, 1576. By this all the provinces, while recognizing the authority of Philip, agreed to expel the for-

The "Spanish Fury."

eign soldiers, to establish religious toleration, and to convene a federal assembly. To conciliate the orthodox States of the south, Holland and Zealand, which were now wholly Protestant, were forbidden to take any measures against the Roman Catholic religion.

Don John of Austria.

At this critical moment Philip's half-brother, Don John of Austria, the hero of the victory of Lepanto, appeared in Luxemburg as successor to Requesens. In the face of the general union it was impossible any longer to refuse concessions, and the "Perpetual Edict" confirmed the Pacification of Ghent and promised the immediate removal of the Spanish troops (February, 1577). But the Prince of Orange distrusted the fair promises of Spain, and refused to accept the edict in Holland and Zealand. Don John, hampered by Philip's commands and impatient of constitutional checks, soon alienated the estates. William appeared in Brussels in September, 1577, and the Governor was powerless. But though the Prince was a favorite with the people, he was regarded with jealousy by the nobles of the southern provinces, who called in the Archduke Matthias of Austria. His authority was recognized by the States, but he had no real power. Don John took up arms to maintain his position, and defeated the hostile troops at Gemblours (January, 1578). But Philip II. was jealous of his brilliant half-brother, and refused to

Philip's jealousy.

send supplies of men and money. After suffering a reverse near Mechlin, Don John died, disgusted with the world, at the early age of thirty-two (October 1, 1578). His brief career in the Netherlands had one important result. By his conciliatory measures, he aimed at the dissolution of the Pacification of Ghent, and paved the way for the return of the southern provinces to Spanish rule.

Alexander Farnese.

Don John's successor was his nephew, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, son of the ex-Regent Margaret, and the first general of his age. He pursued the policy of his predecessor with signal success. He made use of the antipathy which the Catholics in the south felt toward the intolerant Calvinists in the north. He was aided by disorders among William's foreign troops, who oppressed the people they had come to defend. The Prince of Orange discovered that it was hopeless to unite all the provinces, and that it was impossible to maintain the Pacification of Ghent. He was obliged to fall back on the devoted population of the north, which was opposed to Spain on religious as well as patriotic grounds. In 1579, the seven provinces of Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Guelders, Zutphen, Groningen and Overyssel formed the Union of Utrecht, the foundation of the Dutch Republic. The authority of Philip was still nominally retained, but this was now a mere form. In 1581, the severance from Spain was

The Union of Utrecht.

publicly announced. But there was as yet no idea of complete independence. The sovereignty was offered to Francis of Anjou, who gladly accepted it. But his pride was hurt by the continued influence of William of Orange, and he determined to establish an independent power by a *coup d'état*. A number of towns were suddenly occupied by his troops. In Antwerp, where the Duke himself was present, the resistance of the citizens led to a massacre which was called the "French Fury." These high-handed proceedings alienated the people, and the Duke of Anjou was compelled to return to France, where he died the next year (1584). The northern provinces now formed an independent constitution under William of Orange, as Count of Holland and Zealand. Soon afterward the Prince, the great Protestant hero of the century, was assassinated by Balthasar Gerard (July 10, 1584). This was the last of seven attempts on his life, all encouraged by the Spanish King, who had set a price on the head of his unconquerable enemy. William's authority descended to his son Maurice, who, in military skill, soon more than rivalled his father.

The "French Fury."

From this time the war ceases to have any but a purely military interest. Alexander of Parma succeeded before his death, in 1592, in reducing the southern provinces to complete obedience. They became the Spanish Netherlands, and, in 1595, Philip gave them

The Spanish Netherlands.

as a dowry to his daughter Isabella on her marriage with the Archduke Albert of Austria. The northern States preserved their independence. This was due partly to the skill and ability of Maurice of Nassau, partly to the assistance of Elizabeth of England, but mainly to the fact that Philip II. found more than enough to do elsewhere. The war with England and the destruction of the Spanish Armada dealt a fearful blow to the power of Spain. Then Philip's connection with the League involved him in French politics. Twice was the Duke of Parma compelled to leave the Netherlands at a critical moment and to lead his army into France. The succession of Henry IV. ruined the schemes of Philip II. Even after his death, in 1598, it was long before Spain would consent to resign its claim to any part of the Netherlands. At last, in 1609, Philip III. concluded a truce for twelve years, which practically secured the independence of the seven provinces, and the Dutch Republic obtained formal recognition by the treaty of Westphalia in 1648.

Philip's difficulties.

The Dutch Republic formally recognized.

DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA

(A.D. 1572—1588)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE control of events was, however, passing from the hands of statesmen and diplomatists; and the long period of suspense which their policy had won was ending in the clash of national and political passions. The rising fanaticism of the Catholic world was breaking down the caution and hesitation of Philip; while England set aside the balanced neutrality of her Queen and pushed boldly forward to a contest which it felt to be inevitable. The public opinion, to which the Queen was so sensitive, took every day a bolder and more decided tone. Her cold indifference to the heroic struggle in Flanders was more than compensated by the enthusiasm it excited among the nation at large. The earlier Flemish refugees found a refuge in the Cinque Ports. The exiled merchants of Antwerp were welcomed by the merchants of London. While Elizabeth dribbled out her secret aid to the Prince of Orange, the London traders sent him half a million

Force of public opinion.

from their own purses, a sum equal to a year's revenue of the Crown. Volunteers stole across the Channel in increasing numbers to the aid of the Dutch, till the five hundred Englishmen who fought in the beginning of the struggle rose to a brigade of five thousand, whose bravery turned one of the most critical battles of the war. Dutch privateers found shelter in English ports, and English vessels hoisted the flag of the States for a dash at the Spanish traders. Protestant fervor rose steadily as "the best captains and soldiers" returned from the campaigns in the Low Countries to tell of Alva's atrocities, or as privateers brought back tales of English seamen who had been seized in Spain and the New World to linger amid the tortures of the Inquisition, or to die in its fires. In the presence of this steady drift of popular passion the diplomacy of Elizabeth became of little moment. When she sought to put a check on Philip by one of her last matrimonial intrigues, which threatened England with a Catholic sovereign in the Duke of Anjou, a younger son of the hated Catharine of Medicis, the popular indignation rose suddenly into a cry against "a Popish King" which the Queen dared not defy. If Elizabeth was resolute for peace, England was resolute for war. A new courage had arisen since the beginning of her reign, when Cecil and the Queen stood alone in their belief in England's strength, and when the diplomatists

English aid.

Elizabeth's unpopular diplomacy.

of Europe regarded her obstinate defiance of Philip's counsels as "madness." The whole people had caught the self-confidence and daring of their Queen. The seamen of the southern coast had long been carrying on a half-piratical war on their own account. Four years after Elizabeth's accession the Channel swarmed with "sea-dogs," as they were called, who sailed under letters of marque from the Prince of Condé and the Huguenot leaders, and took heed neither of the complaints of the French Court nor of Elizabeth's own attempts at repression. Her efforts failed before the connivance of every man along the coast, of the very port officers of the Crown who made profit out of the spoil, and of the gentry of the West, who were hand and glove with the adventurers. They broke above all against the national craving for open fight with Spain, and the Protestant craving for open fight with Catholicism. Young Englishmen crossed the sea to serve under Condé or Henry of Navarre. The war in the Netherlands drew hundreds of Protestants to the field. The suspension of the French contest only drove the sea-dogs to the West Indies; for the Papal decree which gave the New World to Spain, and the threats of Philip against any Protestant who should visit its seas, fell idly on the ears of English seamen. It was in vain that their trading vessels were seized, and the sailors flung into the dungeons of the Inquisition,

The "Sea-Dogs."

English volunteers.

"laden with irons, without sight of sun or moon." The profits of the trade were large enough to counteract its perils; and the bigotry of Philip was met by a bigotry as merciless as his own. The Puritanism of the sea-dogs went hand in hand with their love of adventure. To break through the Catholic monopoly of the New World, to kill Spaniards, to sell negroes, to sack gold-ships, were in these men's minds a seemly work for the "elect of God." The name of Francis Drake became the terror of the Spanish Indies. In Drake a Protestant fanaticism was united with a splendid daring. He conceived the design of penetrating into the Pacific, whose waters had never seen an English flag; and, backed by a little company of adventurers, he set sail for the southern seas in a vessel hardly as big as a Channel schooner, with a few yet smaller companions who fell away before the storms and perils of the voyage. But Drake with his one ship and eighty men held boldly on; and, passing the Straits of Magellan, untraversed as yet by any Englishman, swept the unguarded coast of Chili and Peru, loaded his bark with the gold dust and silver ingots of Potosi, and with the pearls, emeralds, and diamonds which formed the cargo of the great galleon that sailed once a year from Lima to Cadiz. With spoils of above half a million in value, the daring adventurer steered undauntedly for the Moluccas, rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and,

Francis Drake.

His successful voyage.

after completing the circuit of the globe, dropped anchor again in Plymouth harbor.

The romantic daring of Drake's voyage, as well as the vastness of his spoil, roused a general enthusiasm throughout England. But the welcome he received from Elizabeth on his return was accepted by Philip as an outrage which could only be expiated by war. Sluggish as it was, the blood of the Spanish King was fired at last by the defiance with which Elizabeth received all demands for redress. She met a request for Drake's surrender by knighting the freebooter, and by wearing in her crown the jewels he had offered her as a present. When the Spanish ambassador threatened that "matters would come to the cannon," she replied "quietly, in her most natural voice, as if she were telling a common story," wrote Mendoza, "that if I used threats of that kind she would fling me into a dungeon." Outraged as Philip was, she believed that with the Netherlands still in revolt and France longing for her alliance to enable it to seize them, the King could not afford to quarrel with her. But the sense of personal wrong, and the outcry of the Catholic world against his selfish reluctance to avenge the blood of its martyrs, at last told on the Spanish King, and the first vessels of an armada which was destined for the conquest of England began to gather in the Tagus. Resentment and fanaticism, indeed, were backed

Philip is aroused.

An armada gathers.

by a cool policy. His conquest of Portugal had almost doubled his power. It gave him the one navy that as yet rivalled his own. With the Portuguese colonies his flag claimed mastery in the Indian and the Pacific seas, as it claimed mastery in the Atlantic and Mediterranean; and he had now to shut Englishman and heretic not only out of the New World of the West but out of the lucrative traffic with the East. In the Netherlands, too, and in France all seemed to go well for Philip's schemes. His forces, under Parma, had steadily won their way in the Low Countries, and a more fatal blow had been dealt at his rebellious subjects in the assassination of William of Orange; while all danger of French intervention passed away with the death of the Duke of Anjou, which left Henry of Navarre, the leader of the Huguenot party, heir of the crown of France. To prevent the triumph of heresy in the succession of a Protestant king, the Guises and the French Catholics rose at once in arms; but the Holy League which they formed rested mainly on the support of Philip, and so long as he supplied them with men and money, he was secure on the side of France. It was at this moment that Parma won his crowning triumph in the capture of Antwerp; its fall, after a gallant resistance, convinced even Elizabeth of the need for action if the one "bridle to Spain which kept war out of our own gate" was to be saved. Lord Leicester

The Holy League.

Parma's success.

was hurried to the Flemish coast with 8,000 men. In a yet bolder spirit of defiance Francis Drake was suffered to set sail with a fleet of twenty-five vessels for the Spanish Main. Drake's voyage was a series of triumphs. The wrongs inflicted on English seamen by the Inquisition were requited by the burning of the cities of St. Domingo and Cartagena. The coasts of Cuba and Florida were plundered, and, though the gold fleet escaped him, Drake returned with a heavy booty. But only one disastrous skirmish at Zutphen, the fight in which Sidney fell, broke the inaction of Leicester's forces, while Elizabeth strove vainly to use the presence of his army to negotiate a peace between Philip and the States. Meanwhile dangers thickened round her in England itself. Maddened by persecution, by the hopelessness of rebellion within or of deliverance from without, the fiercer Catholics listened to schemes of assassination to which the murder of William of Orange lent a terrible significance. The detection of Somerville, a fanatic who had received the Host before setting out for London "to shoot the Queen with his dagg," was followed by measures of natural severity, by the flight and arrest of Catholic gentry and peers, by a vigorous purification of the Inns of Court where a few Catholics lingered, and by the despatch of fresh batches of priests to the block. The trial and death of Parry, a member of the House

Drake's plundering expedition.

Somerville's treason.

of Commons who had served in the Queen's household, on a similar charge, fed the general panic. Parliament met in a transport of horror and loyalty. All Jesuits and seminary priests were banished from the realm on pain of death. A bill for the security of the Queen disqualified any claimant of the succession who instigated subjects to rebellion or hurt to the Queen's person from ever succeeding to the crown. The threat was aimed at Mary Stuart. Weary of her long restraint, of her failure to rouse Philip or Scotland to aid her, of the baffled revolt of the English Catholics and the baffled intrigues of the Jesuits, she had bent for a moment to submission. "Let me go," she wrote to Elizabeth; "let me retire from this island to some solitude where I may prepare my soul to die. Grant this, and I will sign away every right which either I or mine can claim." But the cry was useless, and her despair found a new and more terrible hope in the plots against Elizabeth's life. She knew and approved the vow of Anthony Babington and a band of young Catholics, for the most part connected with the royal household, to kill the Queen; but plot and approval alike passed through Walsingham's hands, and the seizure of Mary's correspondence revealed her guilt. In spite of her protest, a Commission of Peers sat as her judges at Fotheringay Castle; and their verdict of "guilty" annihilated, under the provisions of the recent statute, her

General panic.

Babington's conspiracy.

claim to the Crown. The streets of London blazed with bonfires, and peals rang out from steeple to steeple at the news of her condemnation; but, in spite of the prayer of Parliament for her execution, and the pressure of the Council, Elizabeth shrank from her death. The force of public opinion, however, was now carrying all before it, and the unanimous demand of her people wrested at last a sullen consent from the Queen. She flung the warrant signed upon the floor, and the Council took on themselves the responsibility of executing it. Mary died on a scaffold which was erected in the castle-hall at Fotheringay as dauntlessly as she had lived. "Do not weep," she said to her ladies, "I have given my word for you." "Tell my friends," she charged Melville, "that I die a good Catholic."

The death of Mary Stuart.

The blow was hardly struck before Elizabeth turned with fury on the ministers who had forced her hand. Cecil, who had now become Lord Burleigh, was for a while disgraced; and Davison, who carried the warrant to the Council, was flung into the Tower to atone for an act which shattered the policy of the Queen. The death of Mary Stuart in fact seemed to remove the last obstacle out of Philip's way, by putting an end to the divisions of the English Catholics. To him, as to the nearest heir in blood who was of the Catholic faith, Mary bequeathed her rights to the

Impolicy of the execution.

Crown, and the hopes of her adherents were from that moment bound up in the success of Spain. Philip no longer needed pressure to induce him to act. Drake's triumph had taught him that the conquest of England was needful for the security of his dominion in the New World. The presence of an English army in Flanders convinced him that the road to the conquest of the States lay through England itself. The operations of Parma therefore in the Low Countries were suspended with a view to the greater enterprise. Vessels and supplies for the fleet which had for three years been gathering in the Tagus were collected from every port of the Spanish coast. Only the dread of a counter-attack from France, where the fortunes of the League were wavering, held Philip back. But the news of the coming Armada called Drake again to action. He set sail with thirty small barks, burned the storeships and galleys in the harbor of Cadiz, stormed the ports of the Faro, and was only foiled in his aim of attacking the Armada itself by orders from home. A descent upon Corunna, however, completed what Drake called his "singeing of the Spanish King's beard." Elizabeth used the daring blow to back her negotiations for peace; but the Spanish pride had been touched to the quick. Amid the exchange of protocols, Parma gathered seventeen thousand men for the coming invasion, collected a fleet of flat-

Operations in the Low Countries suspended.

Drake sails with thirty small barks.

bottomed transports at Dunkirk, and waited impatiently for the Armada to protect his crossing. But the attack of Drake, the death of its first admiral, and the winter storms delayed the fleet from sailing. The fear of France held it back yet more effectually; but in the spring Philip's patience was rewarded. The League was triumphant, and the King a prisoner in its hands. The Armada at once set sail from Lisbon, but it had hardly started when a gale in the Bay of Biscay drove its scattered vessels into Ferrol. It was only on the 19th of July that the sails of the Armada were seen from the Lizard, and the English beacons flared out their alarm along the coast. The news found England ready. An army was mustering under Leicester at Tilbury, the militia of the midland counties were gathering to London, while those of the south and east were held in readiness to meet a descent on either shore. Had Parma landed on the earliest day he purposed, he would have found his way to London barred by a force stronger than his own, a force too of men in whose ranks were many who had already crossed pikes on equal terms with his best infantry in Flanders. "When I shall have landed," he warned his master, "I must fight battle after battle. I shall lose men by wounds and disease, I must leave detachments behind me to keep open my communications; and in a short time the body of my army will become

The Armada is delayed.

Parma's difficulties.

so weak that not only I may be unable to advance in the face of the enemy, and time may be given to the heretics and your Majesty's other enemies to interfere, but there may fall out some notable inconveniences, with the loss of everything, and I be unable to remedy it." Even had Parma landed, in fact, the only real chance of Spanish success lay in a Catholic rising; and at this crisis patriotism proved stronger than religious fanaticism in the hearts of the English Catholics. Catholic lords brought their vessels up alongside of Drake and Lord Howard, and Catholic gentry led their tenantry to the muster at Tilbury. But to secure a landing at all, the Spaniards had to be masters of the Channel; and in the Channel lay an English fleet resolved to struggle hard for the mastery. As the Armada sailed on in a broad crescent past Plymouth, moving toward its point of junction with Parma at Calais, the vessels which had gathered under Lord Howard of Effingham slipped out of the bay and hung with the wind upon their rear. In numbers the two forces were strangely unequal; the English fleet counted only 80 vessels against the 149 which composed the Armada. In size of ships the disproportion was even greater. Fifty of the English vessels, including the squadron of the Lord Admiral and the craft of the volunteers, were little bigger than yachts of the present day. Even of the thirty Queen's ships which

Patriotism of the English Catholics.

Force of the fleet.

formed its main body, there were only four which equalled in tonnage the smallest of the Spanish galleons. Sixty-five of these galleons formed the most formidable half of the Spanish fleet; and four galleys, four galleasses, armed with fifty guns apiece, fifty-six armed merchantmen, and twenty pinnaces, made up the rest. The Armada was provided with 2,500 cannon, and a vast store of provisions; it had on board 8,000 seamen, and more than 20,000 soldiers; and if a court-favorite, the Duke of Medina Sidonia, had been placed at its head, he was supported by the ablest staff of naval officers which Spain possessed. Small, however, as the English ships were, they were in perfect trim; they sailed two feet for the Spaniards' one, they were manned with 9,000 hardy seamen, and their Admiral was backed by a crowd of captains who had won fame in the Spanish seas. With him was Hawkins, who had been the first to break into the charmed circle of the Indies; Frobisher, the hero of the Northwest Passage; and above all Drake, who held command of the privateers. They had won, too, the advantage of the wind, and, closing in or drawing off as they would, the lightly-handled English vessels, which fired four shots to the Spaniards' one, hung boldly on the rear of the great fleet as it moved along the Channel. "The feathers of the Spaniard," in the phrase of the English seamen, were "plucked one

Swiftness of the English ships.

by one." Galleon after galleon was sunk, boarded, driven on shore; and yet Medina Sidonia failed in bringing his pursuers to a close engagement. Now halting, now moving slowly on, the running fight between the two fleets lasted throughout the week, till the Armada dropped anchor in Calais roads. The time had now come for sharper work if the junction of the Armada with Parma was to be prevented; for, demoralized as the Spaniards had been by the merciless chase, their loss in ships had not been great, while, though the numbers of English ships had grown, their supplies of food and ammunition were fast running out. Howard resolved to force an engagement, and, lighting eight fire-ships at midnight, sent them down with the tide upon the Spanish line. The galleons at once cut their cables, and stood out in panic to sea, drifting with the wind in a long line off Gravelines. Drake resolved at all costs to prevent their return. At dawn the English ships closed fairly in, and almost their last cartridge was spent ere the sun went down. Three great galleons had sunk, three had drifted helplessly on to the Flemish coast; but the bulk of the Spanish vessels remained, and even to Drake the fleet seemed "wonderful great and strong." Within the Armada itself, however, all hope was gone. Huddled together by the wind and the deadly English fire, their sails torn, their masts shot away, the

The Armada reaches Calais.

Fire-ships create panic.

Terrible Spanish loss.

crowded galleons had become mere slaughter-houses. Four thousand men had fallen, and bravely as the seamen fought they were cowed by the terrible butchery. Medina himself was in despair. "We are lost, Señor Oquenda," he cried to his bravest captain; "what are we to do?" "Let others talk of being lost," replied Oquenda, "your Excellency has only to order up fresh cartridge." But Oquenda stood alone; and a council of war resolved on retreat to Spain by the one course open, that of a circuit round the Orkneys. "Never anything pleased me better," wrote Drake, "than seeing the enemy fly with a southerly wind to the northward. Have a good eye to the Prince of Parma, for, with the grace of God, if we like, I doubt not ere it be long so to handle the matter with the Duke of Sidonia, as he shall wish himself at St. Mary Port among his orange trees." But the work of destruction was reserved for a mightier foe than Drake. Supplies fell short and the English vessels were forced to give up the chase; but the Spanish ships which remained had no sooner reached the Orkneys than the storms of the northern seas broke on them with a fury before which all concert and union disappeared. Fifty reached Corunna, bearing ten thousand men stricken with pestilence and death. Of the rest some were sunk, some dashed to pieces against the Irish cliffs. The wreckers of the Orkneys and the Faroes, the

The Armada flees northward.

Storms complete its ruin.

clansmen of the Scottish Isles, the kernes of Donegal and Galway, all had their part in the work of murder and robbery. Eight thousand Spaniards perished between the Giant's Causeway and the Blaskets. On a strand near Sligo an English captain numbered eleven hundred corpses which had been cast up by the sea. The flower of the Spanish nobility, who had been sent on the new crusade under Alonzo da Leyva, after twice suffering shipwreck, put a third time to sea to founder on a reef near Dunluce.

The flower of the Spanish nobility founder on a reef.

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

(A.D. 1572)

RICHARD LODGE

A ROYAL edict forbade the celebration of the reformed service under penalty of death, and ordered the Huguenot preachers to leave the kingdom within fourteen days. An attempt was made to seize Condé and Coligny, and only with great difficulty could they escape to La Rochelle. This port became the headquarters of the Huguenots, and enabled them to keep up their connection with England and the Netherlands. Hither came Condé's sister-in-law, Jeanne, with her young son, Henry of Navarre.

The Huguenot headquarters.

Before the end of 1568 the third religious war had broken out in France. It is impossible here to follow the military movements. In the open field the Catholics, under Henry of Anjou, were constantly successful. In the battle of Jarnac (March 13, 1569), the Huguenots were routed and Condé slain. He was succeeded in the command by Coligny, who never displayed more conspicuous courage and conduct. But want of money to pay his troops compelled him to risk a battle

Success of the Catholics.

against superior forces, and at Montcontour (October 3, 1569) he was again defeated. Had the Catholics promptly followed up the victory, they might have crushed the Huguenots. But the government was beginning to vacillate. Catharine de Medici had no sympathy with the ambitious schemes of Philip II., who wished to use France as a tool. And Charles IX. was jealous of the military successes of his younger brother, the Duke of Anjou, who was the favorite of his mother and the Catholic party. The influence of the Guises, who were hand and glove with Philip II., declined. In August, 1570, the treaty of St. Germain put an end to hostilities. Religious freedom and the right of public service were confirmed to the Huguenots, and they received four towns as places of refuge, La Rochelle, Montauban, Cognac and La Charité.

Vacillation of the government.

Treaty of St. Germain

This treaty was followed by a great change in the attitude of the French court. Charles IX. showed an unexpected determination to assume the reins of government. He wished to free France from foreign influence, and to emulate the achievements of his father and grandfather. The connection with Spain was broken off, and negotiations were opened with England and the Netherlands. It was proposed that Elizabeth should marry the Duke of Anjou, and, after that was given up, the Duke of Alençon. Lewis of Nassau, the brother of William the Silent, was well re-

Charles shows determination

ceived at court. In domestic politics Charles broke with the Guises and allied himself with the moderate party. His youngest sister, Margaret, was betrothed to the young Henry of Navarre. Coligny was invited to court, and there soon obtained great influence over the weak and impulsive King. He urged an immediate war against Spain, and Charles IX. accepted the plan.

But before this could be carried out, Catharine de Medici hurried back to Paris, determined to employ any means in her power to prevent such a reversal of her previous policy and to restore her influence over her son. In alliance with the Duke of Anjou she determined to get rid of Coligny. He was fired at from a window near the court and wounded, though not mortally. This attack made him more popular and more dangerous than ever. The Huguenots were assembled in great numbers to celebrate the wedding of Henry of Navarre. The population of Paris was fanatically hostile to them, and Catharine determined to free herself from all danger by a general massacre in which Coligny and his followers might share a common fate. The unfortunate Charles IX. was induced to give the necessary orders by the entreaties and threats of his mother and brother. At midnight, on 24th of August, 1572, the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois gave the appointed signal. The murder of Coligny was superin-

Attempted assassination of Coligny.

tended by Henry of Guise, the son and successor of Francis. In Paris the mob rose and slaughtered the unsuspecting Huguenots. Other towns followed the example of Paris. Nearly 20,000 victims fell in this "Massacre of St. Bartholomew," or the "Paris Matins." Massacre of St. Bartholomew.

It has often been asserted that the massacre had long ago been decided upon, and that Catharine had only waited for the favorable moment to carry it out. It has been regarded as the direct outcome of Alva's advice at the Conference of Bayonne. But this is not only improbable but almost impossible. Catharine's guiding motive was not religious bigotry, but personal and dynastic ambition. She could never have reckoned on so favorable a circumstance as the presence of so many unarmed Huguenots in the midst of the bloodthirsty mob of Paris. Everything points clearly to the conclusion that the impulse to its execution was sudden, and arose from the immediate position of affairs. Catherine's motive.

The news of the massacre roused the remaining Huguenots to a new war of defence. But, weakened as they were by the loss of their leaders, there seemed little prospect of their success. The government issued orders proscribing the reformed religion, and prepared four armies to reduce those towns which refused obedience. The heroic resistance offered by two towns, Rochelle and Sancerre, rivals the most celebrated deed of antiquity. The Huguenots are roused.

And meanwhile the massacres had called into existence a new party called the Politiques, which adhered to neither of the rival creeds, but insisted on the necessity of toleration. At its head were the Montmorencies, the sons of the Constable, who, though Catholics, inherited their father's opposition to the Guises. The government found it impossible to carry out their policy. The edict of July, 1573, secured liberty of conscience and permitted the Huguenot worship in Rochelle, Nismes, and Montauban. Through the mediation of the Polish envoy, Sancerre was admitted to the same privileges.

The Politiques.

Thus the policy of massacre proved a failure. The Huguenots could not be crushed by such measures. Charles IX., who never recovered after the horrors of St. Bartholomew, and was ever haunted by imaginary visions of its victims, died, without male issue, on May 30, 1574. The crown passed to his brother, Henry III., who had just ascended the throne of Poland, but who promptly deserted his northern kingdom, and made his way through Italy to France. Till his arrival, the administration fell once more into the hands of Catharine de Medici.

Remorse of Charles IX.

[Akbar conquers Guzerat (1572); Bahar (1575); Malwa (1578); Bengal (1584); Lahore (1585); and Cashmere (1586). Philip II. conquers Portugal (1580).]

THE MASSACRE OF ST. BARTHOLOMEW

From the painting by Debat-Ponsan

—Vol. IV, page 1265

THE LEAGUE

(A.D. 1576—1598)

W. C. TAYLOR

THE Duke of Alençon, who afterward obtained the title of Duke of Anjou, and the King of Navarre, had been restored to liberty by Henry immediately after his arrival in France; but finding themselves exposed to suspicion, and deprived of all interest in the state, they quitted the court to place themselves at the head of the politicians and the Protestants. The war was distinguished by no great exploit on either side, and was terminated by a peace, in which more favorable conditions were granted to the Huguenots than they had hitherto obtained. The violent Catholics, headed by the Duke of Guise, loudly protested against this treaty, which they deemed subversive of the established religion, and entered into an alliance called the Holy League, in defence of what they called true Catholicity. The declared objects of this union were to defend the Church, the King, and the State; its effects were the dishonoring of religion, the murder

Objects of the League.

of the King, and almost the utter ruin of the nation. As soon as the Huguenots had learned the news of this powerful combination for their destruction, they prepared to defend themselves, and stood to their arms in every part of the provinces. Henry III., after some vain attempts to remain neutral, embraced the party of the League, and recalled the edicts of toleration which he had lately issued; but there is some reason to doubt his sincerity in this transaction; in fact, he seems to have placed himself at the head of the League, merely to exclude the Duke of Guise from being appointed its leader.

Henry's policy.

For five years the history of France presents nothing to our view but a series of petty combats, enterprises badly planned and worse executed, treaties hastily made, and as hastily broken; treachery, disunion, and discontent in every part of the kingdom. The Protestants were broken into as many parties as there were leaders; the King of Navarre, who was nominally their head, suffered full as much from the jealousy of his followers as from the malice of his enemies; on the other hand, the King mortally detested the Duke of Guise, whose popularity with the clergy and people made him a rival rather than a subject, and the Duke despised the King, to whose incapacity he attributed the continued existence of heresy.

Warring factions.

The death of the Duke of Anjou, and the

improbability of Henry's ever having any children, soon made the members of the League develop their real designs. Henry of Navarre, according to the fundamental laws of the kingdom, was the next heir to the crown; but as he was only related to the King in the fourteenth degree, and was besides a Protestant, Catharine and the Duke of Guise severally labored to prevent his succession. Catharine resolved, in defiance of the Salic law, to procure the crown for the descendants of her favorite daughter, the Duchess of Lorraine; the Duke of Guise, with duplicity equal to her own, pretended to join in her design, but strenuously labored to procure the rich inheritance for himself. The clergy were the foremost in exciting a new war; every pulpit resounded with declamations on the dangers of the Church if the throne were possessed by a Protestant, and the press, which was almost totally in the hands of the ecclesiastics, produced daily the most inflammatory appeals to the prejudices and bigotry of the nation. In these invectives the King was not spared; his severe edicts for raising new taxes, his lavish profusion to unworthy favorites, his disgraceful debaucheries, and the hypocritical grimace which he substituted for devotion, furnished ample scope for satire; and it was said in addition that he had formed a secret alliance with the King of Navarre for the protection of the Huguenots. The Duke of Guise was

Catharine's schemes.

Guise's ambition.

the mainspring of all these complicated movements; as he could not openly claim the crown for himself, he persuaded the old Cardinal of Bourbon, uncle to the King of Navarre, that he was the right heir to the crown in consequence of his nephew's heresy. The Cardinal, whom contemporary historians briefly but emphatically designate an "old fool," was easily persuaded to assert his chimerical claim, and published a manifesto declaring himself chief of the League. Henry, however, could not be persuaded to set aside the claims of his cousin, the King of Navarre, even though that prince had refused to come near the court after he had been frequently invited, and had firmly resisted every attempt made to persuade him to change his religion.

The Cardinal of Bourbon.

The accession of the King of Spain to the League became the signal for renewing the war; the Protestants fought no longer for their privileges but for their existence; the Duke of Guise scarcely concealed his designs upon the throne, the King of France was exposed to the attacks of both factions, and was in equal danger from the success of either. This is generally called the war of the three Henrys; viz., the King of France, the King of Navarre, and the Duke of Guise. The most extraordinary of all the matters connected with this tedious conflict was the conduct of the Pope; though the League was professedly intended to exalt the power of the Holy See,

War of the three Henrys.

Sextus V. looked upon it as a rebellious alliance, equally dangerous to the interests of royalty and religion.

But whatever may have been the private sentiments of the Pope, his bull afforded a pretext to the Leaguers, of which the Duke of Guise was not slow in availing himself. The leaders of the sixteen departments into which Paris was divided, the entire mob of that city, all the clergy, regular and secular, were on his side; and the deposition of Henry III. was an object openly avowed by his partisans. The Duke's brother, the Cardinal of Guise, declared publicly that the King should be sent into a monastery: his sister, the Duchess of Montpensier, whom Henry had insulted by some remarks on her want of personal beauty, exhibited the scissors which were to give him the clerical tonsure.

Desired deposition of Henry III.

Henry of Navarre began now to show some proofs of those noble qualities which have since deservedly procured for him the title of Great. The weakness and indecision of his father had shaken the confidence of the Protestants in the house of Bourbon; but his mother had redeemed the errors of her husband; she was adored by her subjects, with whom she loved to reside, far from the intrigues and vices of the court. In the remote and wild districts of Bearne, Henry received the education of a hardy mountaineer, and was early taught to encounter difficulties and dan-

Henry of Navarre.

gers. When brought to court, he was not proof against the seductive arts by which Catharine de' Medicis endeavored to bring him over to her party. Indifferent as to the means by which her ends were accomplished, Catharine labored with some success to lead the young prince into habits of debauchery, in order that she might rule his actions by means of the artful mistresses with which she had supplied him. But the impending dangers of the League woke him from his dream of guilty pleasure; he placed himself at the head of the Protestant party when its fortunes were at the lowest ebb; often defeated but never conquered, he maintained his ground amid the violence of enemies and the insincerity of friends, until he finally triumphed.

Catharine's seductive arts.

Catharine made some ineffectual efforts to prevent this war by negotiation, but being distrusted by both parties, she completely failed. The royal army, under the Duke of Joyeuse, an unworthy favorite of Henry's, was totally defeated at Contras by the King of Navarre. On the other hand, the Duke of Guise cut to pieces an army of Germans which had invaded France to make a diversion in favor of the Huguenots. The populace of Paris were so intoxicated with joy at the news of the victory obtained by their idol, that Henry, who had appeared for some time to have resigned all care of the state, was roused from

Victory of Guise.

his lethargy by the imminent peril that threatened his crown and life. He sent an express to Guise, forbidding him to approach Paris; but the Duke, pretending not to have received the royal mandate, hastened his approach to the city, and was received there with all the honors of a triumph. In order to reduce the power of the Sixteen, Henry introduced a body of his Swiss guards into Paris, but the citizens, instigated by the partisans of Guise, immediately took up arms; the shops were shut, the alarm bells rung, barricades and chains were drawn across the streets, and the soldiers driven back from post to post, until the King found himself and his attendants closely penned up in the Louvre. Henry escaped during the night, leaving the Duke of Guise in full possession of the capital, but Catharine remained behind to exert her arts of intrigue in bringing about an accommodation. A treaty was concluded, which neither party intended to observe, and in consequence of one of its stipulations an assembly of the States was ordered to be held at Blois. The debates and votes in this assembly sufficiently showed the dangerous designs entertained by the Duke of Guise, and the great resources that he possessed for their accomplishment. To proceed against him for high treason would have been absurd, when all the States of the realm were in his favor; open war would certainly terminate in the King's de-

Paris in revolt.

feat; nothing then remained but the detestable means of assassination, and this Henry determined to adopt. Having armed nine of his most trusty followers with daggers, Henry sent to invite the Duke of Guise to a speedy conference on matters of the utmost importance. The Duke hastened to obey, but just as he was about to enter the room in which the King was, the assassins fell on him, and he was instantly slain. His brother, the Cardinal, shared the same fate on the following day.

Assassination of Guise.

Henry proceeded from the scene of blood to his mother's apartments, and announcing to her the news, said, "Now, madam, I am indeed a king"; she heard the account with the utmost indifference, but advised him to take advantage of the confusion which the event would cause in the League, and secure Paris. But Henry, believing all danger removed by the death of his greatest enemy, relapsed into his ordinary indolence.

Henry's exultation

Instead of "finding himself indeed a king," Henry, in consequence of his crime, was on the brink of ruin. The members of the League openly threw off their allegiance, and choosing as their leader the Duke de Mayenne, the brother of the murdered Duke, gave him the pompous title of "lieutenant-general of the royal state and crown of France," which was in fact giving him the authority of a sovereign without the name. Most of the provinces and large cities of France declared in

favor of the League, and Henry saw no hopes of preserving his authority unless he obtained the assistance of his cousin of Navarre. Their natural necessities compelled both to bury their former animosities in oblivion; the two Henrys had an interview at the castle of Plessis les Tours, and entered into a close alliance which was never afterward violated. Henry III. was now superior to his enemies; he advanced to Paris and laid close siege to the city; the inhabitants were unprepared for his attacks, they had but a small stock of provisions and an inadequate garrison; the Duke de Mayenne was unable to collect an army for their relief; everything seemed to promise a speedy surrender, when an unexpected event produced a new and total revolution.

Alliance of the Henrys.

A monk named James Clement was persuaded by his own fanaticism, aided by the artful suggestions of some of the Leaguers, that he would perform a meritorious action by killing a monarch who was an enemy to the Church. For this purpose he resolved to go on to St. Cloud, where the King resided, and, under the pretence of giving him a letter, stab him in the midst of his guards. Never did an assassin display so much intrepidity; on his road he met La Guesle and his brother, who were going to join the royal army; he was by them conveyed to the camp, and spent the night of his arrival in their tent. He supped gayly with La Guesle's followers,

Assassination of Henry III.

retorted with considerable humor the jokes passed on his monkish habit, readily answered every question put to him, and after leaving the table, spent the night in a profound sleep. On the following morning he was introduced to the King, and presented his letters; while Henry was engaged in looking at them, Clement stabbed him with a knife which he had concealed in his sleeve; the King immediately called out that he was murdered, and drawing out the knife from the wound, struck the assassin in the face; at the same time the attendants despatched him with their swords. The death of Clement prevented any discovery of those by whom he had been instigated to the atrocious deed, but it appears very probable that the family of Lorraine were those who had most share in the contrivance, in revenge for the murder of the Duke of Guise. When Henry found that his wound was mortal, he prepared for death with much apparent resignation. He took an affectionate farewell of the King of Navarre, whom he declared his successor, after having strenuously exhorted him to conciliate his future subjects by embracing the Catholic religion. Having then confessed himself with much apparent devotion, he expired in the thirty-eighth year of his age and the fifteenth of his reign.

The instigators.

The death of Henry III. relieved Paris from the imminent dangers to which it had

been exposed; the title of Henry IV. was, indeed, acknowledged by the principal leaders of the besieging army, but his religion prevented them from warmly espousing his cause; the greater part drew off their forces, and Henry was compelled to raise the siege, which his diminished forces could no longer continue. Henry IV. raises the siege. The Duke de Mayenne, who might have assumed the title of King, chose rather to proclaim the Cardinal of Bourbon, though he remained a prisoner; and, having collected a numerous band of Leaguers, he pursued Henry on his retreat to Normandy. The royalists, though inferior in numbers, gained two brilliant victories at Arques and Ivri, over the partisans of the League; but though these triumphs served to raise the character of Henry, they were not sufficient to crush a party bound together by the gold of Spain and the spiritual authority of the Pope. Defeats of the League. His own followers gave the King nearly as much trouble as his enemies; the Catholic royalists detested the Huguenots; the Protestants returned the hatred, and were, besides, divided among themselves; the princes of the blood were either too young to exert any influence, or had ranged themselves under the banners of the League, and Henry found himself engaged in this dangerous war almost solely dependent on his own personal resources. The King of Spain was anxious to obtain the crown of France for his daughter, Clara Eugenia; the Protestant

princes of Europe, dreading the additional power that would thus be added to the Spanish monarchy, already formidable, resolved to support the cause of Henry, Queen Elizabeth, especially, assisting him with money and warlike stores.

Elizabeth aids Henry.

These aids, and the confidence inspired by several successive triumphs, soon enabled Henry to undertake the siege of Paris, where the hatred of the Leaguers displayed itself with more violence in proportion as the King showed himself more worthy of affection. Though their shadow of a king, the Cardinal de Bourbon, had lately died, and they had not selected any other in his place, so far were they from thinking of submitting to their rightful sovereign, that the doctors of the Sorbonne declared that Henry, being a relapsed heretic, could not receive the crown even though he should obtain absolution, and this shameful decree was confirmed by the Parliament. In the meantime, Paris, being closely blockaded and ill supplied with provisions, was attacked by all the horrors of a severe famine. Bread was made of bones ground into powder, food the most revolting was eagerly sought after, multitudes dropped daily dead in the street from extreme starvation, but no one spoke of yielding. The clergy had promised a crown of martyrdom to all who died in the cause of the Church, and their deluded followers submitted to every privation

Famine in Paris.

without a murmur. Still, had Henry not been moved with a paternal pity for his frantic subjects, he might have taken Paris by assault; but when urged to give orders for the purpose, he replied—"I had rather lose Paris, than get possession of it when ruined by the death of so many persons." He gave the fugitives from the city a safe passage through his camp, and permitted his officers and soldiers to send in refreshments to their friends. By this lenity he indeed lost the fruit of his labors for the present, but he gained the approbation of his own conscience and the admiration of posterity. The Prince of Parma, who commanded the Spanish army in Flanders, advanced to the relief of Paris when the citizens were at the very point of despair; by a series of masterly movements, he disconcerted the efforts made by Henry to bring on an engagement, relieved the garrison, and returned to continue his wars with the Dutch after having performed this essential service to the League with scarcely the loss of a man. The following year, Henry met a similar disappointment at the siege of Rouen, where the escape of the Prince of Parma was effected under such difficult circumstances, that Henry could scarcely believe the evidence of his senses when he found that the hostile troops were beyond his reach.

Henry's generosity.

Parma raises the siege.

The conduct of the Sixteen at Paris contributed much to weaken the influence of the

Arrogance of the Sixteen.

League; these hot-headed rebels pretended to give the law both to the Duke de Mayenne and the Parliament. When a man whom they wished to destroy was acquitted, they suddenly broke out into the most furious excesses, and actually hanged three of the magistrates who had been judges at the trial, among whom was Brisson, the first president of the Parliament. The Duke de Mayenne acted on this occasion with a promptitude and decision foreign to his character; he marched to Paris at the head of his most trusty followers, delivered the most violent of the murderers to the executioner, deprived the Sixteen of the Bastille, which had been their principal stronghold, and thus finally crushed a detestable faction, which derived its whole strength from the madness of fanaticism. But these favorable events were not sufficient to put Henry in possession of the kingdom, while he professed a religion odious to the majority of his subjects; his most faithful followers, Protestant as well as Catholic, recommended him to change his religion, and Henry only delayed through fear of offending Elizabeth and the Protestant princes of Germany. At length, finding that the States-General had proceeded so far as to offer the crown to the Spanish Infanta, on condition of her marrying a French prince, Henry saw that further delay might bring ruin on his cause, and publicly abjured Protestantism in the Church of St. Denis. Though

Mayenne crushes the faction.

Henry abjures Protestantism.

this conversion was anything but sincere, it was followed by the most beneficial effects. The nobility, in general, hastened to reconcile themselves to a king whose character they respected, and most of those who still held out, only did so in hopes of receiving some reward for returning to their allegiance. The Duke de Mayenne and some few of the more violent Leaguers, however, obstinately refused to acknowledge the King, until he had received absolution from the Pope; the bigoted clergy preached with their accustomed vehemence against "the man of Bearn," as they still called their sovereign; but the efforts of some men of genius who had joined the royal cause, weakened the force of their invectives. Several ingenious writings against the follies and absurdities of these ignorant bigots, especially the Menippean satire, covered them with such merited ridicule, that they found their declamations unheeded and neglected. At length Paris opened its gates to Henry, and found in him not a vindictive conqueror, but a paternal sovereign.

Paris opens her gates.

At length the long expected bull of absolution arrived from the Pope; and the Leaguers, having no further grounds of resistance, prepared everywhere for submission. The Duke de Mayenne set the example, and during the remainder of his life was one of Henry's most faithful and devoted subjects; the other chiefs followed his example, but exacted a high price

for the purchase of their loyalty, which Henry, notwithstanding the disordered state of his finances, faithfully paid. Philip, King of Spain, was now Henry's only enemy; and even he, notwithstanding his blind and brutal obstinacy of character, saw that the League was irretrievably ruined. He still continued the war, captured Calais, and soon after added to his conquests the city of Amiens, which his forces surprised. But Henry soon recovered the latter, and forced the Spanish army to retreat. The Protestants were naturally displeased with the King for having deserted their religion, and were inclined to create disturbances in the provinces. Henry, therefore, to conciliate this portion of his subjects, issued the celebrated Edict of Nantes, by which they were granted a perfect toleration of their religion, and full security both in person and property. Soon afterward the war with Spain was terminated by the treaty of Vervins, which Henry, by the tacit consent of his allies, the Dutch and English, concluded separately with Philip.

Ruin of the League.

Edict of Nantes.

THE CONQUEST OF IRELAND AND COLONIZATION OF ULSTER

(A.D. 1588—1610)

JOHN RICHARD GREEN

THE alarm, however, at English aggression had already spread among the natives; and its result was seen in a revolt of the north, and in the rise of a leader far more vigorous and able than any with whom the government had had as yet to contend. Ireland and Elizabeth. An acceptance of the Earldom of Tyrone by the chief of the O'Neills brought about the inevitable conflict between the system of succession recognized by English and that recognized by Irish law. On the death of the Earl, England acknowledged his eldest son as the heir of his Earldom; while the sept maintained their older right of choosing a chief from among the members of the family, and preferred Shane O'Neill, a younger son of less doubtful legitimacy. Success of Shane O'Neill. Sussex marched northward to settle the question by force of arms; but ere he could reach Ulster the activity of Shane had quelled the disaffection of his rivals, the O'Donnells of Donegal, and

won over the Scots of Antrim. "Never before," wrote Sussex, "durst Scot or Irishman look Englishman in the face in plain or wood since I came here;" but Shane had fired his men with a new courage, and charging the Deputy's army with a force hardly half its number, drove it back in rout on Armagh. A promise of pardon induced him to visit London, and make an illusory submission, but he was no sooner safe home again than its terms were set aside; and after a wearisome struggle, in which Shane foiled the efforts of the Lord Deputy to entrap or to poison him, he remained virtually master of the north. His success stirred larger dreams of ambition; he invaded Connaught, and pressed Clanrickard hard: while he replied to the remonstrances of the Council at Dublin with a bold defiance. "By the sword I have won these lands," he answered, "and by the sword will I keep them." But defiance broke idly against the skill and vigor of Sir Henry Sidney, who succeeded Sussex as Lord Deputy. The rival septs of the north were drawn into a rising against O'Neill, while the English army advanced from the Pale; and Shane, defeated by the O'Donnells, took refuge in Antrim, and was hewn to pieces in a drunken squabble by his Scottish entertainers. The victory of Sidney won ten years of peace for the wretched country; but Ireland had already been fixed on by the Papacy as ground

Courage of the Irish.

Death of Shane.

on which it could with advantage fight out its quarrel with Elizabeth. Practically indeed the religious question hardly existed there. The ecclesiastical policy of the Protestants had indeed been revived in name on the Queen's accession; Rome was again renounced, the new Act of Uniformity forced the English Prayer-book on the island, and compelled attendance at the services in which it was used. There was as before a general air of compliance with the law; even in the districts without the Pale the bishops generally conformed, and the only exceptions of which we have any information were to be found in the extreme south and in the north, where resistance was distant enough to be safe. But the real cause of this apparent submission to the Act of Uniformity lay in the fact that it remained, and necessarily remained, a dead letter. It was impossible to find any considerable number of English ministers, or of Irish priests acquainted with English. Meath was one of the most civilized dioceses, and out of a hundred curates in it hardly ten knew any tongue save their own. The promise that the service-book should be translated into Irish was never fulfilled, and the final clause of the Act itself authorized the use of a Latin rendering of it till further order could be taken. But this, like its other provisions, was ignored, and throughout Elizabeth's reign the gentry of the Pale went unquestioned to

Act of Uniformity.

Ignorance of English.

Mass. There was in fact no religious persecution, and in the many complaints of Shane O'Neill we find no mention of a religious grievance. But this was far from being the view of Rome or of Spain, of the Catholic missionaries, or of the Irish exiles abroad. They represented, and perhaps believed, the Irish people to be writhing under a religious oppression which they were burning to shake off. They saw in the Irish loyalty to Catholicism a lever for overthrowing the heretic Queen when in 1579 the Papacy planned the greatest and most comprehensive of its attacks upon Elizabeth. While missionaries egged on the English Catholics to revolt, the Pope hastened to bring about a Catholic revolution in Scotland and in Ireland. Stukely, an Irish refugee, had long pressed on the Pope and Spain the policy of a descent on Ireland; and his plans were carried out at last by the landing of a small force on the shores of Kerry. In spite of the arrival in the following year of two thousand Papal soldiers accompanied by a Legate, the attempt ended in a miserable failure. The fort of Smerwick, in which the invaders intrenched themselves, was forced by the new Deputy, Lord Grey, to surrender, and its garrison put ruthlessly to the sword. The Earl of Desmond, who after long indecision rose to support them, was defeated and hunted over his own country, which the panic-born cruelty of his

Spanish and Papal invasion.

pursuers harried into a wilderness. Pitiless as it was, the work done in Munster spread a terror over the land which served England in good stead when the struggle with Catholicism culminated in the fight with the Armada; and not a chieftain stirred during that memorable year save to massacre the miserable men who were shipwrecked along the coast of Bantry or Sligo.

Government of terror.

The power of the government was from this moment recognized everywhere throughout the land. But it was a power founded solely on terror; and the outrages and exactions of the soldiery, who had been flushed with rapine and bloodshed in the south, sowed, during the years which followed the reduction of Munster, the seeds of a revolt more formidable than any which Elizabeth had yet encountered. The tribes of Ulster, divided by the policy of Sidney, were again united by the common hatred of their oppressors; and in Hugh O'Neill they found a leader of even greater ability than Shane himself. Hugh had been brought up at the English court, and was in manners and bearing an Englishman; he had been rewarded for his steady loyalty in previous contests by a grant of the Earldom of Tyrone; and in his strife with a rival chieftain of his clan he had secured aid from the government by an offer to introduce the English laws and shire-system into his new country. But he was no sooner undisputed master

Hugh O'Neill heads revolt.

of the north than his tone gradually changed. Whether from a long-formed plan, or from suspicion of English designs upon himself, he at last took a position of open defiance. It was at the moment when the Treaty of Vervins, and the wreck of the second Armada, freed Elizabeth's hands from the struggle with Spain, that the revolt under Hugh O'Neill broke the quiet which had prevailed since the victories of Lord Grey. The Irish question again became the chief trouble of the Queen. The tide of her recent triumphs seemed at first to have turned. A defeat of the English forces in Tyrone caused a general rising of the northern tribes; and a great effort made, in 1599, for the suppression of the growing revolt failed through the vanity and disobedience, if not the treacherous complicity, of the Queen's lieutenant, the young Earl of Essex. His successor, Lord Mountjoy, found himself master on his arrival of only a few miles round Dublin. But in three years the revolt was at an end. A Spanish force which landed to support it at Kinsale was driven to surrender; a line of forts secured the country as the English mastered it; all open opposition was crushed out by the energy and the ruthlessness of the new lieutenant; and a famine which followed on his ravages completed the devastating work of the sword. Hugh O'Neill was brought in triumph to Dublin; the Earl of Desmond, who had again roused Munster into

The Irish question.

The revolt at an end.

revolt, fled for refuge to Spain; and the work of conquest was at last brought to a close. Under the administration of Mountjoy's successor, Sir Arthur Chichester, an able and determined effort was made for the settlement of the conquered province by the general introduction of a purely English system of government, justice, and property. Every vestige of the old Celtic constitution of the country was rejected as "barbarous." The tribal authority of the chiefs was taken from them by law. They were reduced to the position of great nobles and landowners, while their tribesmen rose from subjects into tenants, owing only fixed and customary dues and services to their lords. The tribal system of property in common was set aside, and the communal holdings of the tribesmen turned into the copyholds of English law. In the same way the chieftains were stripped of their hereditary jurisdiction, and the English system of judges and trial by jury substituted for their proceedings under Brehon or customary law. To all this the Celts opposed the tenacious obstinacy of their race. Irish juries, then as now, refused to convict. Glad as the tribesmen were to be freed from the arbitrary exactions of their chiefs, they held them for chieftains still. The attempt made by Chichester, under pressure from England, to introduce the English uniformity of religion ended in utter failure; for the Englishry of the Pale remained as

Conquest and Settlement.

The Reformation.

The tribal system abolished.

Catholic as the native Irishry; and the sole result of the measure was to build up a new Irish people out of both on the common basis of religion. Much, however, had been done by the firm yet moderate government of the Deputy, and signs were already appearing of a disposition on the part of the people to conform gradually to the new usages, when the English Council, under Elizabeth's successor, suddenly resolved upon and carried through the great revolutionary measure which is known as the Colonization of Ulster. The pacific and conservative policy of Chichester was abandoned for a vast policy of spoliation; two-thirds of the north of Ireland was declared to have been confiscated to the Crown by the part its possessors had taken in a recent effort at revolt; and the lands which were thus gained were allotted to new settlers of Scotch and English extraction. In its material results the Plantation of Ulster was undoubtedly a brilliant success. Farms and homesteads, churches and mills, rose fast amid the desolate wilds of Tyrone. The Corporation of London undertook the colonization of Derry, and gave to the little town the name which its heroic defence has made so famous. The foundations of the economic prosperity which has raised Ulster high above the rest of Ireland in wealth and intelligence were undoubtedly laid in the confiscation of 1610. Nor did the measure meet with any opposition at the

The colonization of Ulster.

Consequent prosperity.

time save that of secret discontent. The evicted natives withdrew sullenly to the lands which had been left them by the spoiler; but all faith in English justice had been torn from the minds of the Irishry, and the seed had been sown of that fatal harvest of distrust and disaffection, which was to be reaped through tyranny and massacre in the age to come.

No faith in English justice.

THE COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA

(A.D. 1602—1611)

SAMUEL RAWSON GARDINER

IN 1602, an attempt was made by Bartholomew Gosnold to colonize New England, which was then known by the name of Northern Virginia. The enterprise failed, but Gosnold came back fully impressed with the idea of its feasibility. He succeeded in imparting his views to a little knot of men, among whom was the Richard Hakluyt who had devoted his life to the celebration of the deeds of maritime daring by which the last reign had been distinguished. It was of far more importance for the ultimate destinies of the colony that he succeeded in obtaining the co-operation of John Smith. Smith was still a young man, but he had gone through more hardships and adventures than had fallen to the lot of any other Englishman, even in that adventurous age. He had served in the Low Countries against the Spaniards, and in Hungary against the Turks. He had been thrown overboard in a storm in the Mediterranean by the crew of a French ship in which

Gosnold's voyage to New England.

Smith's adventures.

he was, who imagined that the presence of a Huguenot on board had called down the vengeance of Heaven upon their vessel. He had been taken prisoner by the Turks, and had been sent to serve as a slave among the Tartars on the Don. But whatever might happen, he was always able to turn it to account. In the worst dangers he knew what was the right thing to be done. For such a scheme as that which Gosnold proposed, the presence of such a man was indispensable to success.

For a year Gosnold and his friends were unable to find means to carry their plan into execution. They were, however, not alone in the hopes with which they were inspired. In 1605, a ship, commanded by Captain Weymouth, was fitted out by the Earls of Arundel and Southampton. On his return, Weymouth brought with him five natives of New England. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was Governor of Plymouth, fell in with him, and conversed with him on the countries which he had visited. He took three of the Indians into his house, and obtained every possible information from them. From that time he set his heart upon the colonization of America. He acquainted Chief Justice Popham with his designs. Popham had always taken a deep interest in the mercantile and maritime enterprises of the time, and readily agreed to ask the King for a charter authorizing the proposed undertaking. He became acquainted

Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

with Gosnold's desire to carry out a similar enterprise, and both schemes were comprehended in the charter which he obtained.

The first Virginia charter, 1606.

That charter was dated April 10, 1606. It declared that Virginia extended from the thirty-fourth to the forty-fifth degree of latitude, or, in other words, from what is now the southern boundary of the State of North Carolina to the shores of Nova Scotia. On this long line of coast two settlements were to be made. Gorges and his friends from the West of England were to choose a place for a colony somewhere in the northern part of the territory, while the London merchants and gentlemen who had listened to Gosnold's persuasion were to confine themselves to the south.

The instructions for the colonists.

It was necessary to devise some form of government for the two colonies. The rock upon which all former attempts had split was the difficulty of inducing the spirited adventurers who took part in them to submit to control. The crews of the vessels which had been sent out had been too often bent merely upon making their fortunes. The chance of capturing a Spanish prize had frequently lured them away from the object for which they were despatched, and had ruined the best concerted undertakings. Many of the emigrants carried with them the idea that in America gold lay upon the ground in lumps; and when they discovered, by a bitter experience, the terrible

hardships which awaited them amid hostile tribes on an uncultivated shore, their hearts too often gave way at once, and they could think of nothing but of the easiest way of return.

The Southern Colony.

On December 19, 1606, the little company which was destined to succeed where so many had failed, sailed from the Thames in three small vessels. They were in all a hundred and five. The vessels were commanded by a Captain Newport. It was arranged that the names of the colonial council should be kept secret until the arrival of the expedition in America. This precaution had probably been taken to prevent any collision between Newport and the colonial authorities. It was, however, attended with unforeseen results. The chief persons who had engaged in the undertaking were jealous of the abilities of Smith, and absurd rumors were spread among them that he intended to make himself King of Virginia. They, therefore, resolved upon anticipating his supposed design by placing him in confinement; and they conducted across the Atlantic as a prisoner the man to whom the whole conduct of the enterprise ought to have been confided.

Arrival in the Chesapeake, 1607.

After a tedious voyage, the expedition arrived at the mouth of the Chesapeake. They gave to the headlands between which they sailed the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, in honor of the two English princes.

As soon as they had landed, they opened their instructions, and found that seven of their number had been appointed to form the council, and that both Smith and Gosnold were included in the number. After some hesitation, they selected a site upon a stream to which they gave the name of the James River, upon which they proceeded to build the town which is known as Jamestown to this day. The first act of the council was to nominate Wingfield, one of the earlier promoters of the expedition, to the presidency, and to expel Smith from their body. It was not till some weeks had passed that they were persuaded to allow him to take his seat.

Troubles begin.

In June, Newport returned to England with the vessels. As soon as he had left Virginia the troubles of the colonists began. They had arrived too late in the season to allow them to sow the seed which they had brought with them with any hope of obtaining a crop. The food which was left behind for their support was bad in quality, and the hot weather brought disease with it. Nearly fifty of their number were gentlemen, who had never been accustomed to manual labor. Half of the little company were swept away before the beginning of September. Among those who perished was Gosnold, whose energetic disposition might, perhaps, if he had survived, have done good service to the colony.

Difficulties of the settlers.

To make matters worse, the president was in-

efficient and selfish, and cared little about the welfare of his comrades, if he only had food enough for himself. The council deposed him; but his successor, Radcliffe, was equally incompetent, and it was only by the unexpected kindness of the natives that the colonists were enabled to maintain their existence. As the winter approached, their stock was increased by large numbers of wild fowl which came within their reach. In spite, however, of this change in their circumstances, it was only at Smith's earnest entreaty that they were prevented from abandoning the colony and returning to England.

Smith taken prisoner by the Indians.

During the winter, Smith employed himself in exploring the country. In one of his expeditions he was taken prisoner by the Indians. Any other man would have been instantly massacred. With great presence of mind, he took a compass out of his pocket, and began talking to them about its wonders. Upon this, the chief forbade them to do him any harm, and ordered him to be carried to their village.

While he was there he still more astonished his captors by sending a party of them with a letter to Jamestown. They were unable to comprehend how his wishes could be conveyed by means of a piece of paper. At last he was conducted before Powhattan, the superior chief over all the tribes of that part of the country. After a long consultation, it was

determined to put him to death. He was dragged forward, and his head was laid upon a large stone, upon which the Indians were preparing to beat out his brains with their clubs. Even then his good fortune did not desert him. The chief's daughter, Pocahontas, a young girl of ten or twelve years of age, rushed forward, and, taking him in her arms, laid her head upon his, to shield it from the clubs. The chief gave way before the entreaties of his daughter, and allowed him full liberty to return to Jamestown.

He is set at liberty.

On his arrival there he found all things in confusion. The president had again formed the intention of abandoning the colony, and was only deterred once more by the energetic exertions of Smith. The colonists were also indebted to him for the liberal supplies of provisions which were from time to time brought to them by Pocahontas.

He had not been long at liberty, when Newport arrived with a fresh supply of provisions. He also brought with him about a hundred and twenty men, the greater part of whom were bent upon digging for gold. Smith applied himself to the more profitable undertaking of carrying his explorations over the whole of the surrounding country. The gold-diggers did not add anything to the stock of the community; and it was only by the arrival of another ship that the colonists were enabled during the summer of 1608 to avoid

Newport's return, 1608.

absolute starvation. Some little corn had, however, been sown in the spring, and it was hoped that, with the help of what they could obtain from the natives, there would be sufficient provision for the winter.

Shortly after Newport had again left the colony, Smith returned from one of his exploring expeditions. He found the whole colony dissatisfied with the conduct of the incapable president, who, with the exception of Smith, was the only member of the original council still remaining in Virginia. A third member had, however, been sent out from England. This man, whose name was Scrivener, had attached himself warmly to Smith, and, to the general satisfaction of the settlers, the two friends deposed Ratcliffe, and appointed Smith to fill his place.

Smith elected president.

Smith had not long been president when Newport again arrived. The members of the company in England were anxious to see a return for the capital which they had expended. They pressed Smith to send them gold, and threatened to leave the colony to starve, if their wishes were not complied with. The only conditions on which he was to be excused were the discovery of a passage into the Pacific, or of the lost colony which had been founded by Raleigh. They sent him seventy more men, of whom, as usual, the greater number were gentlemen. They expected him to send them home, in return,

Newport brings more settlers.

pitch, tar, soap-ashes, and glass. To assist him in this, they put on board eight Poles and Dutchmen, who were skilled in such manufactures.

He at once wrote home to the treasurer of the company, Sir Thomas Smith, explaining to him the absurdity of these demands. The colonists, he told him, must be able to feed themselves before they could establish manufactures. If any more men were sent out, "but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardiners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers-up of trees" and "roots," would be better "than a thousand of such" as had lately arrived.

Smith's successful rule.

Under Smith's rule the settlement passed safely through another winter. The Indians were compelled to respect the rising colony. The greater part of the gentlemen were induced to work heartily, and those who refused were plainly told that if they would not do the work they would be left to starve. It appeared as if, at last, the worst difficulties had been overcome.

The new charter, 1609

The summer of 1609 was drawing to a close, when news arrived in Virginia that a fresh charter had been granted, by which considerable changes were authorized in the government of the colony. The working of the original arrangements had been, in many respects, unsatisfactory. The council at home, which had been enlarged in 1607, had found but lit-

tle to do, as all practical business connected with the support of the colony was in the hands of the company. The company itself had proved but ill-fitted to devise the best measures for a quick return for the money which they had laid out, and had been too eager to press the colonists to engage in trade before they had brought under cultivation a sufficient quantity of land for their own support.

The company ill-fitted to devise good measures.

Undoubtedly the best thing which the new council could have done would have been to have placed Smith at the head of the settlement. But, being ignorant of his true value, they took the next best step in their power. The government of merchants and captains had proved only another name for organized disorder. They, therefore, determined to try the experiment of sending out persons whose rank had made them accustomed to command, and who, if they were under the disadvantage of being new to colonial life, might be supposed to be able to obtain respect from the factions by which the colony was distracted. It was also plain that the settlement must be regarded, at least for the present, as a garrison in a hostile country, and that the new government must be empowered to exercise military discipline. The selections were undoubtedly good. Lord de la Warr, an able and conscientious man, was to preside, under the name of General; Sir Thomas Gates, one

Appointment of Lord de la Warr as Governor.

of the oldest promoters of the undertaking, was to act as his Lieutenant; Sir George Somers was to command the vessels of the company as Admiral; Sir Thomas Dale, an old soldier from the Low Country wars, was to keep up discipline as Marshal; while Sir Ferdinando Wainman was invested with the rather unnecessary title of General of the Horse. Lord de la Warr was to be preceded by Gates, Somers, and Newport, who were jointly to administer the government till the appearance of the General himself.

The whole scheme was well contrived, and if it had been carried out according to the intentions of the council all would have gone well. In May, nine ships sailed with five hundred fresh men to recruit the colony, and with large stores of provisions. Unfortunately, the ship which contained the three commissioners was wrecked on the Bermudas, and the remaining vessels, with the exception of one which perished at sea, arrived in the Chesapeake with the information that Smith's authority was at an end, but without bringing any new officers to fill his place. To make matters worse, the men who arrived were chiefly a loose and disorderly mob, who had been chosen without any special regard for the requirements of an emigrant's life, and with them were several of Smith's old opponents, previously returned to England.

Shipwreck of the Commissioners

Smith, seeing that no lawful authority had

come to replace his own, determined to maintain himself in his post. The new-comers raised unlooked-for difficulties. They not only showed great disinclination to submit to his orders, but they set at naught all the ordinary rules of prudence in their intercourse with the natives. The Indians came to Smith with complaints that his men were stealing their corn and robbing their gardens. He was doing his best to introduce order again among these miserable men, when an accident deprived the colony of his services. Some gunpowder in a boat, in which he was, accidentally took fire, and the wounds which he received made it impossible for him to fulfil the active duties of his office. He accordingly determined to return to England, leaving the unruly crowd of settlers to discover, by a bitter experience, the value of his energy and prudence. They were not long in learning the extent of their capacity for self-government. They utterly refused to submit to Percy, who had been elected by the council as Smith's successor. As soon as the natives heard that Smith was gone, they attacked the settlement and met with but little resistance. The settlers themselves wasted the provisions which should have served for their subsistence during the winter. There was no recognized authority, and every man followed his own inclination. When Smith sailed for England the colony consisted of four hundred and ninety men.

Smith's difficulties.

Smith returns to England.

Wretched state of the colony.

Within six months a miserable remnant of sixty persons was supporting itself upon roots and berries.

In this extremity, Gates arrived, having contrived to escape in a pinnace from the Bermudas. On May 23, 1610, he landed at Jamestown. He had expected to find a flourishing colony, where he could obtain support for the hundred and fifty shipwrecked settlers who accompanied him. He found famine staring him in the face. The corn which had been sown would not be ready for harvest for months, and the Indians refused to bargain with their oppressors. When he had landed all his little store, he found that there would only be enough to support life for sixteen days. It was, therefore, determined, by common consent, to forsake the country, as the only means to avoid starvation, and to make for Newfoundland, where the fugitives hoped to obtain a passage to England in the vessels which were engaged in fishing.

Arrival of Gates, 1610.

Famine is imminent.

On June 7, the remnants of the once prosperous colony quitted the spot which had been for three years the centre of their hopes, and dropped down the river. Before, however, they had got out of the Chesapeake, they were astonished by the sight of a boat coming up to meet them. The boat proved to belong to Lord de la Warr's squadron, which had arrived from England in time to save the settlement from ruin.

The arrival of Lord de la Warr was the turning point in the early history of Virginia. He brought provisions upon which the settlers could subsist for a year, and by his authority he was able to curb the violence of the factions which had been with difficulty kept down even by the strong hand of Smith. Peace was restored with the Indians, and the colonists willingly obeyed the Governor's directions.

Arrival of Lord de la Warr.

He had not been long in Virginia before ill health compelled him to return. After a short interval he was succeeded by Sir Thomas Dale. Dale introduced a code of martial law. This code was unjustifiably severe, but even that was better than the anarchy which threatened to break out again on Lord de la Warr's departure. A still more advantageous change was brought about under his government. Hitherto the land had been cultivated for the good of the whole colony, and it had been found difficult to make men work heartily who had no individual interest in their labors. Dale assigned three acres of land to each settler. The immediate results of this innovation were manifest. The improvement was still more decided when Gates, who had been sent back to England, returned as Governor, in August, 1611, with considerable supplies, of which the most valuable part consisted of large numbers of cattle. From that time the difficulties which had impeded the formation of the settlement were heard of no more.

Sir Thomas Dale's administration.

THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

(A.D. 1605)

CHARLES KNIGHT

IN the last week of October, 1605, the King was contemplating "his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already." While James was at his favorite sports, hunting according to a more discreet fashion than that of the old Norman kings, his "little beagle," for so he called Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury, was diligently carrying forward the business of the State. Salisbury was at his post at Whitehall on the night of the 26th of October, when his wonted meditations upon the difficulty of providing money for his extravagant master and his rapacious followers, were disturbed by the demand for an audience of a Catholic peer, Lord Mounteagle.

Lord Mounteagle visits Salisbury.

A strange incident had occurred on that night of the 26th of October, when Mounteagle broke in upon the quiet Secretary of State. The Catholic peer had a house at

Hoxton, from which he had been absent a month, when he suddenly arrived that evening to supper. Very opportune was the return, as we learn from the official *Discourse:* "Being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it." It appears from another account that the letter was read aloud, of course in the presence of the lord's attendants. It was as follows: Happenings at Hoxton.

"My lord out of the love i beare to some of youer frendz i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but retyere youre selfe into youre contri wheare yowe mayee expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parlea- The letter.

ment and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this cowncel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy proteccion i comend yowe." The letter is addressed "To the right honorable the lord Mowteagle."

Who wrote it?

There have been many conjectures as to the writer of this extraordinary letter. One probable guess is that Francis Tresham, the brother-in-law of Mounteagle, gave him this warning to save his own life, though in such obscure terms as should not lead to discovery of the conspiracy in which Tresham and others of Mounteagle's friends were engaged. Greenway, the Jesuit, whose relation of the plot, although written to exculpate himself and others, contains many curious details, gives in his manuscript what seems "to have been the opinion of the conspirators themselves. They attributed it to Tresham, and suspected a secret understanding between him and Lord Mounteagle, or at least the gentleman who was employed to read the letter at table. They were convinced that Tresham had no sooner given his consent than he repented of it, and sought to break up the plot without betraying his associates."

The administrative ability of Salisbury is

shown by the wariness with which he conducted his operations, from the moment that Mounteagle came to him from Hoxton on that dark October night. Whether his suspicion was first raised, or whether he had a previous knowledge, his course was unaltered. He made no fuss; he quietly communicated the letter to others of the Council; he suffered James to go on with his hunting exercise; and when the King came to London, the Secretary, having had the ominous letter six days in his possession, presented it to the King, no other person being present. The official *Discourse* claims for the King the right interpretation of the riddle, "For the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter." If the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, argued Salisbury, what was the use of the warning? But the King read the mysterious sentence thus: the danger is to be sudden and quick—the terrible hurts, of which the authors should be unseen, "should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire." Thence, held the King, according to the *Discourse*, it should be "by blowing up of powder." It was "a divine illumination of the royal mind," said Coke on the trial of the conspirators. Salisbury, according to his own statement, had suggested the same interpretation to several of the Council, before the King knew anything of the matter. But Salisbury was

Salisbury's ability.

The King's interpretation.

too politic not to let the vanity of his master expatiate to his Parliament upon his claim to the discovery. It was set forth in the *Discourse* how all inquiry had been postponed by the Council, "for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." The Secretary completely threw the conspirators off their guard, even when they knew that the letter to Mounteagle was in the hands of the vigilant minister. They had conferred upon their danger; but the absence of every indication of alarm or suspicion on the part of the government made them despise the advice which Winter had received from his friend in Mounteagle's household.

The conspirators outwitted.

On Monday, the 4th of November, the Lord Chamberlain, whose duty it was to make arrangements for the meeting of Parliament, went to the House of Lords; and afterward entered the vaults under the Parliament-chamber. Lord Mounteagle was of the party. They observed a large store of coals and wood in a cellar; and standing carelessly there they saw "a very tall and desperate fellow." The Lord Chamberlain asked who the fuel belonged to: and the man answered that they belonged to his master, Mr. Percy, who had rented the cellar for a year and a half. There were no more questions. But there was a general examination, by the direction of a West-

Searching the vaults.

minster magistrate, of neighboring houses and cellars, under a pretence of looking for some missing property belonging to the royal wardrobe. The "tall and desperate fellow" was not yet frightened from his purpose. A little before midnight on the eve of the 5th of November, the same magistrate, with a strong body of attendants, repaired to the cellar under the Parliament House. A man just stepping out of the door was seized and searched. Slow matches and touchwood were found upon him; and a lantern, with a light within its dark covering, was in the cellar. The heaps of billets were quickly removed, and beneath them were thirty-six barrels of gunpowder.

Capture of Fawkes.

It is one o'clock in the morning. The prisoner is led to Whitehall. A Council is hastily assembled in the King's bed-chamber. The resolute man is beset with hurried interrogatories by King and peers. His name, he says, is John Johnson; he is a servant of Thomas Percy; if he had not been apprehended that night, he had blown up the Parliament House, when the King, peers, bishops, and others had been assembled. "Why would you have killed me?" asks the King. "Because you are excommunicated by the Pope," is the reply. "How so?" said James. "Every Maundy Thursday the Pope doth excommunicate all heretics, who are not of the Church of Rome," is the explanation. He is asked who were privy to the conspiracy, and answers, "He

could not resolve to accuse any." The night was passed in the examination of the prisoner; but nothing could be obtained from him that could commit his accomplices. In the morning he was taken to the Tower.

London's anxiety.

That morning of the 5th of November was a time of deep anxiety in London. The news of a conspiracy so daring in its objects, so mysterious in its origin, so terrible in its remorseless fanaticism, filled all classes with alarm. It was scarcely possible to exaggerate the consequences of a plot which threatened to involve the whole machinery of government in one indiscriminate destruction. Two of the conspirators had left London on the 4th. Two others fled the instant they knew that the pretended servant of Percy was seized. Two more lingered till the morning. Five of these joined company on their road to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, all riding with extraordinary speed, having relays of horses. It had been arranged that a general rendezvous should take place at Dunchurch, on the 5th of November, after the great act of vengeance should have been accomplished in London. Toward that place various bodies of Roman Catholics were moving on the appointed day; some being cognizant of a design against the government, but few having been intrusted with the secrets of the leaders. A party was collected on the 5th at the house of Lady Catesby, at

Ashby St. Legers. They were at supper when the five who had fled from London rushed in, covered with the mire of the wintry roads, exhausted, hopeless. They had little to think of now but self-defence. Taking with them all the arms they could collect, they rode off to Dunchurch. Here they found a large assembly, with Sir Everard Digby at their head, carousing, and anxiously expecting some joyful intelligence of the triumphs of their party, which they had been led to anticipate by vague hints of a coming time when heresy should no longer sit in high places. The ill-concealed fears, the pale looks, the secret whisperings of the friends who had ridden so hard to join them, told another tale. The instinct with which those who, with a half-confidence, are to be made the instruments of conspiracy, fly from their leaders at the first approach of detection, was now in full operation. Those who came with numerous retainers to the great chase on Dunmore heath, which was to be a gathering for more important objects than the hunting of the deer, gradually slunk away. On that night the chief conspirators were left alone. Let us now see who were the principal actors in this perilous enterprise; and how they had been occupied for many months before the fatal fifth of November.

The rendezvous at Dunchurch.

Dispersal of the conspirators.

Robert Catesby, the only son of Sir William Catesby, who in the time of Elizabeth

The leaders.

passed from the Protestant faith to the Roman Catholic, and whose mother was a sister of Thomas Throckmorton, also a most determined recusant, was imbued with a more than common hatred to the established religion. He was concerned in the insurrection of Essex, but was pardoned upon paying a fine of £3,000; and he was prominent in other seditions during the two latter years of the Queen's reign. Thomas Winter was of a Roman Catholic family, who were connected by marriage with the family of Catesby; and he also had been occupied with plots, and had been in Spain to negotiate for the invasion of England by a Spanish force, in 1601. John Wright was a pervert from Protestantism, and he had also been engaged in the treason of Essex. These men were old and intimate friends; and these "three first devised the plot, and were the chief directors of all the particularities of it," as their principal associate declared in one of his examinations. He who stated this, on the 19th of November, was the "tall and desperate fellow" who called himself John Johnson, and refused when brought to Whitehall, on the 5th, to declare any who were privy to the design which he so boldly avowed. He had been compelled to disclose his real name by a hateful process; for on the 6th of November the King proposed a number of interrogatories to be put to the prisoner, concluding thus: "The gentler tortures are to

Fawkes put to the torture.

be first used unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tenditur*" [and so proceed by steps to the extremest]. This recommendation produced its effect; as we may learn from the signature of Guido Fawkes to his examination before the torture, and his signature to an examination after the torture. He was the son of a notary of York, who was Registrar of the Consistory Court of the Cathedral; and he was brought up as a Protestant at the free school there. He became, however, a zealous Papist; and, having served in the Spanish army in Flanders, acquired some of the Spanish notions of the Christian treatment by which heresy was to be extirpated. Guido Fawkes and Thomas Winter came to London together in 1604; and a few days after there was a remarkable meeting between Catesby, Wright, Winter, Fawkes, and a new malcontent, Thomas Percy, a relation of the Earl of Northumberland. From the time of this meeting, at which the first words which Percy uttered were, "Shall we always, gentlemen, talk, and never do anything?"—there was abundant work, and very hard work, for these five fanatics. Percy's activity.

The confession of Thomas Winter, on the 23d of November, is a very elaborate paper, minutely detailing the rise and progress of the conspiracy. They gave each other an oath of secrecy, "in a chamber where no other body was"; and, going "into the next room, heard The solemn oath.

mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same." The object for which the oath was taken was then disclosed by Catesby to Percy, and by Winter and Wright to Fawkes. In the State Paper Office there is an agreement between Thomas Percy and Henry Ferrers, for the hire of a house next the Parliament house. It is dated May 24, 1604;—and is indorsed by Salisbury: "The bargain between Ferrers and Percy for the bloody cellar, found in Winter's lodging." Eighteen months were these five men carrying their terrible secret close in their bosoms; imparting it to very few others; never doubting their own unaided power to produce a revolution by one stunning blow; and, from the very nature of the means they employed, exposed to detection at every step. "The bloody cellar" was not under the Parliament chamber. They saw no chance of preparing a mine beneath that chamber, but by breaking through the massive foundation wall of the House of Lords. Fawkes received the keys of the house next the Parliament house; and they were ready for their work previous to the expected meeting of Parliament. But the Parliament was again prorogued to February, 1605; so they departed to the country for a while. They then took another house at Lambeth, "where," says Winter, "we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be con-

Parliament prorogued.

veyed by boat to the house by the Parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out." At the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1604, Fawkes and Winter conferred with Catesby in the country, and they agreed "that now was the time to begin and set things in order for the mine." Percy's house was wanted for a meeting of the Commissioners for the Scotch Union. It was an official house; and Percy, its temporary tenant, was obliged to defer his unsuspected proceedings. Percy held the office of a Gentleman-Pensioner, which may account for the absence of all suspicion as to his objects. The conferences of the commissioners were ended a fortnight before Christmas; and then other labors were commenced in right earnest within those walls. Percy and Wright now joined Catesby, Winter, and Fawkes; "and we," says Winter, "against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night." They had to get through a stone wall three yards in thickness. Their labor was far beyond what they had expected; and they sent to Lambeth for Keyes, and obtained the adhesion to their plot of Christopher Wright, the brother of John. Fawkes, with the boldness which characterized him, vindicated himself and his associates from the

The great toil undertaken.

belief that they were men of low birth and mean employments, to whom such toil was habitual; but that they were "gentlemen of name and blood." In his examination of the 8th of November, he says, "not any was employed in or about this action, no, not so much as in digging or mining, that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought, I stood a sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed. All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder; being resolved to die in that place before we should yield or be taken." Father Greenway expresses his surprise that men delicately nurtured should, in a short space of time, have accomplished far more rough work than men who had been bred to laborious occupation would have accomplished. They were enthusiasts. They had little sense of fatigue, in the confidence that they were engaged in a holy work to which they were called by the immediate voice of heaven. As they worked, they beguiled the time by discoursing about what should be their first proceeding when they had accomplished the sweeping destruction of all the estates of the realm. They were to carry off Prince Charles, and his sister Elizabeth, Prince Henry having perished with the King. They were then to proclaim the heir-apparent, and

Gentlemen only employed.

Plans of the plotters.

appoint a Protector of the kingdom, during the minority of the sovereign. They were to ask help of foreign princes, when "the business was acted." What next they were to do with a state so "out of joint" was not manifest. They were sometimes beset with superstitious fears. They heard a sound from the middle of the wall, as of a tinkling bell. It was an unearthly sound, and was heard no more when holy water had been sprinkled again and again. They did not resume their labors till February, 1605, having learned that Parliament was to be again prorogued. But now their plan of operations was changed. They had "wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through," when they heard a rushing noise above their heads. Fawkes, always foremost in any danger, went to ascertain the cause, in his usual disguise of a porter's frock. He found that above the spot where they had been mining was a cellar in the occupation of a coal-dealer, and that he was moving his coals, being about to give up possession. That cellar was immediately under the Parliament chamber. They seized upon the opportunity. The cellar was hired, and was quickly filled with barrels of gunpowder, covered over with fagots and billets. In May all their stores were carried in, and, locking the cellar, they departed from London. Fawkes went to Flanders to see if any

Superstitious fears.

Fawkes's daring.

New recruits.

foreign plotting looked promising. Catesby employed the summer in raising a troop of horse, for service in Flanders, as a part of an English regiment levied by the Spanish ambassador. This troop was officered by Catesby's immediate friends. The conspiracy widened by the introduction to its secrets of Sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham. Tresham and Catesby were cousins. Tresham had taken a prominent part in the Essex conspiracy; and he very narrowly escaped arraignment and execution.

We now resume our narrative from the point at which we left the bewildered conspirators at Dunchurch, after the seizure of Fawkes. The timid adherents to some vague plan of revolt having departed, and left the bolder spirits to their own resolves, these daring confederates determined at once to march with their armed retainers, in the hope to excite a general insurrection of Roman Catholics in the midland counties, and in Wales. They

The conspirators in arms.

set out from Dunchurch at ten o'clock on that same night of the 5th, having despatched a letter to the Jesuit Garnet, who was in the neighborhood with Sir Everard Digby's family. They marched through Warwick, where they helped themselves to horses, on to Alcester; and, having seized some armor at Lord Windsor's, on Wednesday night they had reached Holbeach, the house of Stephen Littleton, one of their friends. Their numbers

were gradually diminished by desertion. Not one man joined them. The Roman Catholic party saw that the odious enterprise would long retard any hope of toleration from the government. The conspirators were pursued by the sheriff of Worcestershire with his *posse comitatus*. Digby fled from them at Holbeach, and was seized at Dudley; for the hue and cry had gone through the country. Those who remained at Holbeach prepared to defend the house against assault. An accidental circumstance filled them with terrible forebodings—a circumstance which Coke cleverly alluded to, upon the trial of Fawkes and others, as an exemplification of the principle that there is no law more just than that the wicked should perish by their own acts:—"Observe," he said, "a miraculous accident which befell in Stephen Littleton's house, called Holbeach, in Staffordshire, after these traitors had been two days in open rebellion, immediately before their apprehension; for some of them standing by the fireside, and having set two pounds and a half of powder to dry in a platter before the fire, and underset the said platter with a great linen bag full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds, it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof the powder taking fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as Catesby, Grant, and

Desertions.

A miraculous accident.

Rookwood, and blew up the roof of the house; and the linen bag, which was set under the platter, being therewith suddenly carried out through the breach, fell down in the court-yard whole and unfired, which, if it had taken fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this trial." This explosion of gunpowder was regarded even by the boldest of these men as a token that God was against them. But the next day when the sheriff arrived and summoned them to surrender, the few who remained determined upon resistance. Thomas Winter was not present when the gunpowder exploded. Stephen Littleton then fled, having asked Winter to fly with him; but Winter, who supposed that Catesby was killed by the accident, said he would see the body of his friend, and bury him before he left. Winter tells the remainder of the story with expressive brevity: "When I came I found Mr. Catesby reasonable well, Mr. Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant. I asked them 'what they resolved to do.' They answered 'We mean here to die.' I said again, 'I would take such part as they did.' About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and, as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr.

Determination to resist.

Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter), 'Stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' quoth I; 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet, and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of my both arms."

Capture of Winter.

Previous to the trial of the principal conspirators who remained alive, there had been twenty-three days occupied in various examinations; during which the general progress of the conspiracy had been slowly extracted from the confessions of the prisoners. Tresham, who is supposed to have been instrumental in discovering the plot to the government, was not arrested till the 12th of November, although Fawkes had distinctly mentioned him as one concerned. He died in the Tower before the trial. In postponing the trial, it was the great object of the government to obtain evidence that would inculpate the Jesuit missionaries. All the conspirators, with the exception of Thomas Bates, a servant of Catesby, persisted in denying the privity of the Jesuits to the enterprise. The alarm which was felt at the revelation of a treason which contemplated such awful consequences was universal; and thus we may understand how Ben Jon-

Tresham dies in the Tower.

Feelings of the Roman Catholics.

son, a person who, although a writer of masks for the court, was of a sturdy and independent character, appears to have lent himself to the government, in what we may regard as the odious function of a spy. We take the poet's case to be an illustration of a very general tone of feeling among the moderate Papists; who, whatever might be their grievances, did not see their way to redress in casting aside all love of country, and all regard for religion, by being neutral and indifferent at a time when such a fearful mystery was suddenly brought to light.

THE DISCOVERY AND SETTLEMENT OF MANHATTAN ISLAND

(A.D. 1609—1628)

DAVID T. VALENTINE

AFTER the discovery of the Western Continent by Christopher Columbus, the attention of Europe seemed to be turned toward the southern part of the new world, where the gold was found emblazoning the garments of the aboriginal inhabitants, holding a glittering temptation to the enterprise of adventurous spirits. Thus the cold regions of the north lay unvisited for more than a hundred years by any other than passing vessels, sailing along the coast, and making formal discoveries of its shores, to be mapped as the property of their royal employers.

Interest in the southern regions.

One of these vessels of discovery, commanded by Verrezano, in the service of the French, is believed to have entered the south bay of New York in the year 1525, and this may have had a distant glimpse of the island which is the subject of our history; but by some it is doubted if Verrezano's description

Verrezano.

of the harbor, which is not very explicit, is applicable to the bay of New York.

The *Half Moon* and its crew.

The first discovery has been generally ascribed to Henry Hudson, an Englishman by birth, who, in the year 1609, being then in the service of the Dutch, sailed westward from the shores of Europe, in search of a northwest passage to the East Indies. The vessel commanded by Hudson was a small yacht, called the *Half Moon;* manned by from sixteen to twenty men, partly of Dutch and partly of English birth. This vessel was not over eighty tons burden, being designed for coasting. After traversing the American coasts, between Newfoundland and the Chesapeake Bay, he turned his course northward again, designing to explore, leisurely, the extent of the country thus passed by. On the 1st of September, 1609, he discovered the Highlands of Neversink, described by him as a "very good land to fall in with, and a pleasant land to see." The next day he rounded Sandy Hook, and the second day following he anchored under the Jersey shore in the south bay.

The Indians.

The Indians, flocking to the shore in great numbers, appear at once to have understood the designs of their visitors, for, whether by tradition or rumor from other lands, they seem to have been acquainted with the articles of trade most in use between the whites and the Indians, and were apt at driving a

bargain. They offered tobacco and other products in exchange for knives and beads. Their disposition seemed friendly, and the women presented such articles of food as they had prepared in that season.

Hudson sends out an exploring party.

On the 6th of September, a boat's crew, despatched by Hudson to explore the coast further inland, entered the Narrows and came in sight of Manhattan Island. They described the land encircling the bay as covered with trees, grass and flowers, and the air as filled with delightful fragrance. The return of this small party was unfortunate, as, for some unexplained reason, the boat was attacked by two canoes filled with Indians, and one of the crew, named John Coleman, was killed by an arrow piercing his throat. It seems probable from the course taken by Hudson, after this disaster, that the assault by the natives was not without provocation, as friendly intercourse was still kept up between the parties.

Hudson sails up the river.

On the 11th of September, Hudson weighed and sailed up through the Narrows. Having anchored in New York Harbor, he was visited by the neighboring Indians, who made great show of love, giving presents of tobacco and Indian corn. He remained at anchor but one day, and, on the 12th of September, took his course up the river, which has since borne his name. In his exploration to the head of navigation, near the present site of

Albany, he was engaged about three weeks, and finally put to sea on the 4th of October, making directly for Holland with news of his discovery of this fine river and its adjacent country, which he described as offering every inducement for settlers or traders that could be desired.

Besides the fertility of the soil, which was satisfactorily shown by the great abundance of grain and vegetables found in the possession of the Indians, a still more enticing prospect was held out to the view of the merchant, in the abundance of valuable furs observed in the country, which were to be had at a very little cost. Hudson had, therefore, scarcely made publicly known the character of the country visited by him, when several merchants of Amsterdam fitted out trading vessels and despatched them to this river. Their returns were highly satisfactory, and arrangements were immediately made to establish a settled agency here to superintend the collection of the furs and the trade with the Indians while the ships should be on their long journey between the two hemispheres. The agents thus employed pitched their cabins on the south point of Manhattan Island, the head man being Hendrick Corstiaensen, who was still the chief of the settlement in 1613, at which period an English ship, sailing along the coast from Virginia, entered the harbor on a visit of observation. Finding Corstiaen-

Abundance of furs.

A trading-post established.

sen here, with his company of traders, the English captain summoned him to acknowledge the jurisdiction of Virginia over the country or else to depart. The former alternative was chosen by the trader, and he agreed to pay a small tribute to the Governor of Virginia in token of his right of dominion. The Dutch were thereupon left to prosecute their trade without further molestation.

The Government of Holland did not, however, recognize the claims of England to jurisdiction over the whole American coast, and took measures to encourage the discovery and appropriation of additional territory by a decree giving to any discoverers of new countries the exclusive privilege of trading thither for four successive voyages, to the exclusion of all other persons. This enactment induced several merchants to fit out five small ships for coasting along the American shores in this vicinity. One of these vessels, commanded by Captain Block, soon after its arrival on the coast, was accidentally destroyed by fire. Block immediately began the construction of another, of thirty-eight feet keel, forty-four and a half feet on deck, and eleven and a half feet beam, which was the first vessel launched in the waters of New York. She was called the *Unrest* or *Restless,* and plowed her keel through the waters of Hell Gate and the Sound, the pioneer of all other vessels, except the bark canoes of the aboriginal inhabitants.

The first vessel built in New York.

The several ships despatched on this exploring expedition having returned to Holland, from their journals and surveys a map of a large extent of country was made, over which the Dutch claimed jurisdiction, and to which they gave the name of New Netherland. The owners of these vessels, as the reward of their enterprise, were granted the promised monoply of trade thither for four voyages to be completed within three years, commencing on the 1st of January, 1615.

The New Netherland.

These merchants seem to have been composed in part of those who had established the first trading-post here, but having increased their number and capital, and enlarged their former designs of trade, formed themselves into a company under the name of the "United New Netherland Company." Corstiaensen was continued the principal agent here, and they likewise established a post at the head of the river, on an island opposite the present site of Albany. Forts of a rude description (being merely inclosures of high palisades) were erected at both places.

The United New Netherland Company.

The privileges granted to the "United New Netherland Company" being, however, limited in respect to time, their establishment on this island can hardly be considered as a permanent settlement; the cabins of the settlers were nearly of equal rudeness with those of their Indian neighbors; and but few of the luxuries of civilization found their way into

The first settlement.

their habitations. The great object of the settlement was, however, successfully carried on, and stores of furs were in readiness to freight the ships on their periodical visits from the fatherland. No interruption of the friendly intercourse carried on with the Indians took place, but, on the contrary, the whites were abundantly supplied by the natives with food and most other necessaries of life, without personal labor and at trifling cost.

The Indian tribes in the neighborhood of this trading-post were the Manhattans, occupying this island; the Pachamies, the Tankiteks and the Wickqueskeeks, occupying the country on the east side of the Hudson River, south of the Highlands; the Hackingsacks and the Raritans, on the west side of the river and the Jersey shore; the Canarsees, the Rockways, the Merrikokes, the Marsapeagues, the Mattinecocks, the Nissaquages, the Corchaugs, the Secataugs and the Shinecocks, on Long Island. The Indian tribes.

The trade of this colony of settlers was sufficiently profitable to render its permanency desirable to the United New Netherland Company, as it is found that at the termination of their grant, in the year 1618, they endeavored to procure from the Government in Holland an extension of their term, but did not succeed in obtaining more than a special license, expiring yearly, which they held for two or three subsequent years. Trade of the colony.

In the meantime, a more extensive association had been formed among the merchants and capitalists in Holland, which in the year 1621, having matured its plans and projects, received a charter under the title of the "West India Company." Their charter gave them the exclusive privilege of trade on the whole American coast, both of the northern and southern continents, so far as the jurisdiction of Holland extended. This great company was invested with most of the functions of a distinct and separate government. They were allowed to appoint governors and other officers; to settle the forms of administering justice; to make Indian treaties and to enact laws.

The West India Company.

Having completed their arrangements for the organization of their government in New Netherland, the West India Company despatched their pioneer vessel hither in the year 1623. This was the ship *New Netherland,* a staunch vessel, which continued her voyages to this port, as a regular packet, for more than thirty years subsequently. On board the *New Netherland* were thirty families to begin the colony—this colony being designed for a settlement at the head of the river, the vessel landed her passengers and freight near the present site of Albany, where a settlement was established. The return cargo of the *New Netherland* was five hundred otter skins, one thousand five hundred beavers, and other

Settlement at Albany.

freight, valued at about twelve thousand dollars.

Headquarters established on Manhattan Island.

It having been determined that the headquarters of the company's establishment in New Netherland should be fixed on Manhattan Island, preparations for a more extensive colony to be planted here were made, and, in 1625, two ships cleared from Holland for this place. On board these vessels were shipped one hundred and three head of cattle, together with stallions, mares, hogs and sheep in a proportionate number. Accompanying these were a considerable number of settlers, with their families, supplied with agricultural implements and seed for planting; household furniture, and the other necessaries for establishing the colony. Other ships followed with similar freight, and the number of emigrants amounted to about two hundred souls.

Fresh colonists arrive, 1625.

On the arrival of the ships in the harbor, the cattle were landed, in the first instance, on the island now called Governor's Island, where they were left on pasturage until convenient arrangements could be made on the mainland to prevent their straying in the woods. The want of water, however, compelled their speedy transfer to Manhattan Island, where, being put on the fresh grass, they generally throve well, although about twenty died, in the course of the season, from eating some poisonous vegetable.

The settlers commenced their town by stak-

ing out a fort on the south point of the island, under the direction of one Kryn Frederick, an engineer sent along with them for that purpose; and a horse-mill having been erected, the second story of that building was so constructed as to afford accommodation for the congregation for religious purposes. The habitations of the settlers were of the simplest construction, little better, indeed, than those of their predecessors. A director-general had been sent to superintend the interests of the company, in the person of Peter Minuit, who, in the year 1626, purchased Manhattan Island from the Indian proprietors for the sum of sixty guilders, or twenty-four dollars, by which the title to the whole island, containing about twenty-two thousand acres, became vested in the West India Company.

Peter Minuit buys Manhattan Island.

The success of the company proved itself, for a short period, by the rise in the value of their stock, which soon stood at a high premium in Holland. Various interests, however, were at work in the company to turn its advantages to individual account, and, in 1628, an act was passed under the title of "Freedoms and Exemptions granted to all such as shall plant Colonies in New Netherland." This edict gave to such persons as should send over a colony of fifty souls, above fifteen years old, the title of "patroons," and the privilege of selecting any land (except on the island of Manhattan), for a distance of eight miles on

The Patroons.

each side of any river, and so far inland as should be thought convenient, the company stipulating, however, that all the products of the plantations thus established should be first brought to the Manhattans, before being sent elsewhere for trade. They also reserved to themselves the sole trade with the Indians for peltries in all places where they had an agency established.

With respect to such private persons as should emigrate at their own expense, they were allowed as much land as they could properly improve, upon satisfying the Indians therefor. Emigration encouraged

These privileges gave an impetus to emigration, and assisted, in a great degree, in permanently establishing the settlement of the country.

HUDSON'S LAST VOYAGE

(A.D. 1610)

HESSEL GERRITZ

THE English, stimulated by the happy success of their maritime enterprise, undergo without hesitation the troubles which these expeditions involve; and in spite of the laborious nature of their voyages to the east, to Moscovia, Nova Zembla and Spitzbergen, they are still bent on new discoveries. They have chiefly made uninterrupted efforts to find a passage in the west, where they have already occupied Virginia and peopled it with their colonists. This passage they have sought for between Greenland and Nova Francia. Their efforts have as yet been fruitless, and through ice and snow they have in vain fought their way up to 70° or even 80° of northern latitude. The strait which they have thus explored bears the name of its first discoverer, John Davis. The last navigator who went along that way was Captain George Weymouth, who sailed in the year 1602, and who, after a voyage of five hundred leagues, was, like his predecessors, forced by the ice

Courageous English explorers.

to return. But on purpose to draw at least some advantage from his expedition, he directed his course to the bay under 61°, which the English call Lumley's Inlet, and sailed a hundred leagues in a southwesterly direction into it. Having gone so far, he found himself landlocked, and despairing of a passage, he was, by the weakness of his crew and by other causes, forced to return. He, however, first explored two more bays between that country and Baccalaos, and found there the water wide and mighty like an open sea, with very great tides. Weymouth's discoveries.

This voyage, though far from fulfilling Weymouth's hopes, assisted Hudson very materially in finding his famous strait. George Weymouth's logbooks fell into the hands of the Rev. Peter Plancius, who pays the most diligent attention to such new discoveries, chiefly when they may be of advantage to our own country; and when, in 1609, Hudson was preparing to undertake a voyage for the directors of the East India Company, in search of a passage to China and Cathay by the north of Nova Zembla, he obtained these logbooks from Peter Plancius. Out of them he learned this whole voyage of George Weymouth, through the narrows north of Virginia, till into the great inland sea; and thence he concluded that this road would lead him to India. But Peter Plancius refuted this latter opinion from the accounts of a man who had searched Hudson gets possession of Weymouth's logbooks.

and explored the western shore of that sea, and had stated that it formed an unbroken line of coast. Hudson, in spite of this advice, sailed westward to try what chance of a passage might be left there, having first gone to Nova Zembla, where he found the sea entirely blocked up by ice and snow. He seems, however, according to the opinion of our countrymen, purposely to have missed the right road to the western passage, unwilling to benefit Holland and the directors of the Dutch East India Company by such a discovery. All he did in the west in 1609 was to exchange his merchandise for furs in New France. He then returned safely to England, where he was accused of having undertaken a voyage to the detriment of his own country. Still anxious to discover a western passage, he again set out in 1610, and directed his course to Davis's Strait. There he entered in latitude 61° the path pointed out by George Weymouth, and explored all the shores laid down in the present chart, up to the height of 63°. He then sailed to the south, down to 54°, where he wintered. When he left his winter quarters he ran along the western shore for forty leagues, and fell in, under 60°, with a wide sea, agitated by mighty tides from the northwest. This circumstance inspired Hudson with great hope of finding a passage, and his officers were quite ready to undertake a further search; but the crew, weary of the

Hudson's voyage of 1609.

Hudson's voyage in 1610.

SCENE AT PRAGUE DURING THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

From the painting by Brozik

—Vol. IV, pages 1349-1362

long voyage, and unwilling to continue it, bethought themselves of the want of victuals, with which they had been provided for eight months only, and to which no additions had been made during the voyage, except one large animal which an Indian brought. This Indian was armed with a Mexican or Japanese *cris* (poniard), from which fact Hudson concluded that a place which possessed Mexican arms and productions could not be far distant from that country. At last the ill-will of the crew prevailed. They exposed Hudson and the other officers in a boat on the open sea, and returned into their country. There they have been thrown into prison for their crime, and will be kept there until their captain shall be safely brought home. For that purpose some ships have been sent out last year (1612) by the late Prince of Wales and by the directors of the Moscovia Company, about the return of which nothing has as yet been heard. We may therefore hope that they have passed beyond that strait, and we do not think that we shall hear anything about them before they return to England from East India or China and Japan, by the same road by which they went out. This, we hope and pray, may come to pass. Nor has the zeal of our fellow citizens of Amsterdam cooled down. They have some months ago sent out a ship to search for a passage or for Hudson's Strait, to try whether any convenient inter-

The crew set Hudson adrift.

Relief expeditions.

course can be established with those places, or, if this should be found impossible, to trade on the coasts of New France.

[In 1610, the Dutch receive permission to trade with Japan; in 1612, the Jesuits found a mission in Canada and the English settle at Surat, near Bombay. The United New Netherland Company is established in Holland in 1612, and has a trading-post on Manhattan Island. Napier invents and explains logarithms (1614), and Briggs constructs tables of them (1617). John Smith explores the coast of Northern Virginia, and publishes a map with description (1614). In 1617, the Dutch found Batavia in Java; a British company gets a charter to trade with West Africa, and establishes forts on the Gold Coast and on the Gambia; the first Colonial Parliament for South Virginia meets at Jamestown, and negro slaves are brought to Virginia.]

The invention of logarithms.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH'S EXPEDITION

(A.D. 1618)

DAVID HUME

AT the time when Sir Walter Raleigh was first confined in the Tower, his violent and haughty temper had rendered him the most unpopular man in England; and his condemnation was chiefly owing to that public odium under which he labored. During the thirteen years' imprisonment which he suffered, the sentiments of the nation were much changed with regard to him. Men had leisure to reflect on the hardship, not to say injustice, of his sentence; they pitied his active and enterprising spirit, which languished in the rigors of confinement; they were struck with the extensive genius of the man, who, being educated amid naval and military enterprises, had surpassed, in the pursuits of literature, even those of the most recluse and sedentary lives; and they admired his unbroken magnanimity, which, at his age, and under his circumstances, could engage him to undertake and execute so great a work as his *History of the World*. To increase these favorable dispositions, on

Raleigh's unpopularity.

which he built the hopes of recovering his liberty, he spread the report of a golden mine, which he had discovered in Guiana, and which was sufficient, according to his representations, not only to enrich all the adventurers, but to afford immense treasures to the nation. The King gave little credit to these mighty promises, both because he believed that no such mine as the one described was anywhere in nature, and because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortunes, whose business it was, by any means, to procure his freedom, and to reinstate himself in credit and authority. Thinking, however, that he had already undergone sufficient punishment, he released him from the Tower; and, when his vaunts of the golden mine had induced multitudes to engage with him, the King gave them permission to try the adventure, and, at their desire, he conferred on Raleigh authority over his fellow-adventurers. Though strongly solicited, he still refused to grant him a pardon, which seemed a natural consequence, when he was intrusted with power and command. But James declared himself still diffident of Raleigh's intentions; and he meant, he said, to reserve the former sentence, as a check upon his future behavior.

His schemes to gain freedom.

He is liberated.

Raleigh well knew that it was far from the King's purpose to invade any of the Spanish settlements: he therefore firmly denied that Spain had planted any colonies on that part

of the coast where his mine lay. When Gondomar, the ambassador of that nation, alarmed at his preparations, carried complaints to the King, Raleigh still protested the innocence of his intentions: and James assured Gondomar that he durst not form any hostile attempt, but should pay with his head for so audacious an enterprise. The minister, however, concluding that twelve armed vessels were not fitted out without some purpose of invasion, conveyed the intelligence to the court of Madrid, who immediately gave orders for arming and fortifying all their settlements, particularly those along the coast of Guiana. Gondomar protests.

When the courage and avariee of the Spaniards and Portuguese had discovered so many new worlds, they were resolved to show themselves superior to the barbarous heathens whom they invaded, not only in arts and arms, but also in the justice of the quarrel: they applied to Alexander VI., who then filled the Papal chair: and he generously bestowed on the Spaniards the whole western, and on the Portuguese the whole eastern, part of the globe. The more scrupulous Protestants, who acknowledged not the authority of the Roman Pontiff, established the first discovery as the foundation of "their" title; and if a pirate or sea-adventurer of their nation had but erected a stick or a stone on the coast, as a memorial of his taking possession, they concluded the whole continent to belong to them, and thought Papal grants.

themselves entitled to expel or exterminate, as usurpers, the ancient possessors and inhabitants. It was in this manner that Sir Walter Raleigh, about twenty-three years before, had acquired to the crown of England a claim to the continent of Guiana, a region as large as the half of Europe; and though he had immediately left the coast, yet he pretended that the English title to the whole remained certain and indefeasible. But it had happened, in the meantime, that the Spaniards, not knowing or not acknowledging this imaginary claim, had taken possession of a part of Guiana, had formed a settlement on the river Oronooko, had built a little town called St. Thomas, and were there working some mines of small value.

Conflicting claims.

To this place Raleigh directly bent his course; and, remaining himself at the mouth of the river with five of the largest ships, he sent up the rest to St. Thomas, under the command of his son and a Captain Keymis, a person entirely devoted to him. The Spaniards, who had expected this invasion, fired on the English at their landing, were repulsed, and pursued into the town. Young Raleigh, to encourage his men, called out, "That this was the true mine, and none but fools looked for any other;" and, advancing upon the Spaniards, received a shot, of which he immediately expired. This dismayed not Keymis and the others. They carried on the attack; got possession of the town, which they afterward

Sack of St. Thomas.

reduced to ashes; and found not in it anything of value.

Raleigh did not pretend that he had himself seen the mine, which he had engaged so many people to go in quest of: it was Keymis, he said, who had formerly discovered it, and had brought him that lump of ore, which promised such immense treasures; yet Keymis, who owned that he was within two hours' march of the place, refused, on the most absurd pretences, to take any effectual step toward finding it; and he returned immediately to Raleigh, with the melancholy news of his son's death, and the ill success of the enterprise. Sensible to reproach, and dreading punishment for his behavior, Keymis, in despair, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his own life.

Suicide of Keymis.

The other adventurers now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that he never had known of any such mine as he pretended to go in search of; that his intention had ever been to plunder St. Thomas; and, having encouraged his company by the spoils of that place, to have thence proceeded to the invasion of the other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortunes by such daring enterprises; and that he trusted to the money he should acquire for making his peace with England; or, if that view failed him, that he purposed to retire into some other country, where his riches would secure his retreat.

The adventurers are discouraged.

The small acquisitions gained by the sack of St. Thomas, discouraged Raleigh's companions from entering into these views; though there were many circumstances in the treaty, and late transactions between the nations, which might invite them to engage in such a piratical war against the Spaniards.

When England made peace with Spain, the example of Henry IV. was imitated, who, at the treaty of Vervins, finding a difficulty in adjusting all questions with regard to the Indian trade, had agreed to pass over that article in total silence. The Spaniards having, all along, published severe edicts against the intercourse of any European nation with their colonies, interpreted this silence in their own favor, and considered it as a tacit acquiescence of England in the established laws of Spain. The English, on the contrary, pretended that, as they had never been excluded by any treaty from commerce with any part of the King of Spain's dominions, it was still as lawful for them to trade with his settlements in either Indies, as with his European territories. In consequence of this ambiguity, many adventurers from England sailed to the Spanish Indies, and met with severe punishment when caught; as they, on the other hand, often stole, and, when superior in power, forced a trade with the inhabitants, and resisted, nay, sometimes plundered, the Spanish governors. Violences of this nature, which had been carried

English and Spanish reprisals.

to a great height on both sides, it was agreed to bury in total oblivion; because of the difficulty which was found in remedying them upon any fixed principles.

But as there appeared a great difference between private adventurers in single ships, and a fleet acting under a royal commission, Raleigh's companions thought it safest to return immediately to England, and carry him along with them to answer for his conduct. It appears that he employed many artifices, first to engage them to attack the Spanish settlements, and, failing of that, to make his escape into France: but all these proving unsuccessful, he was delivered into the King's hands, and strictly examined, as well as his fellow-adventurers, before the privy council. The council, upon inquiry, found no difficulty in pronouncing that the former suspicions, with regard to Raleigh's intentions, had been well-grounded; that he had abused the King in the representations which he had made of his projected adventure; that, contrary to his instructions, he had acted in an offensive and hostile manner against his majesty's allies; and that he had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to the King of Spain. He might have been tried, either by common law for this act of violence and piracy, or by martial law for breach of orders: but it was an established principle among lawyers that, as he lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could

Raleigh's artifices.

not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. To satisfy, therefore, the court of Spain, which raised the loudest complaints against him, the King made use of that power which he had purposely reserved in his own hands, and signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

He is condemned and executed.

Raleigh, finding his fate inevitable, collected all his courage: and, though he had formerly made use of many mean artifices, such as feigning madness, sickness, and a variety of diseases, in order to protract his examination and procure his escape, he now resolved to act his part with bravery and resolution. "It is a sharp remedy," he said, "but a sure one for all ills," when he felt the edge of the axe by which he was to be beheaded. His harangue to the people was calm and eloquent; and he endeavored to revenge himself, and to load his enemies with the public hatred, by strong asseverations of facts, which, to say the least, may be esteemed very doubtful. With the utmost indifference, he laid his head upon the block, and received the fatal blow; and in his death there appeared the same great, but ill-regulated, mind, which, during his life, had displayed itself in all his conduct and behavior.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR

(A.D. 1618—1648)

WILLIAM FRANCIS COLLIER

CHARLES V. was succeeded in the empire of Germany by his brother Ferdinand, after whom reigned in succession Maximilian II., Rodolph II., and Matthias.

Ever since the Reformation, Europe had been split into two parties—Protestant and Romanists—and the conflict, at first waged only with tongue and pen, had in later days been often maintained with the cannon and the sword. Early in the Seventeenth Century, when Matthias had held the imperial throne for six years, the last grand struggle began,—the great Thirty Years' War, which enlisted on one side or the other all the chief powers in Europe.

Hostile parties.

The war opened in 1618 on a small scale in a contest for the throne of Bohemia, to which the Emperor Matthias had managed to raise his cousin Ferdinand, Duke of Styria. This man, who was a bitter enemy of Protestantism, was looked on with alarm and dislike by a

Opening of the war.

great mass of the people of that land, which had cradled John Huss and Jerome of Prague. And good cause the Bohemians soon found for their alarm. Putting into practice that craft which he had learned in the schools of the Jesuits, he rested not until in town after town of the whole country the Protestant service was repressed. This was not to be tamely borne. The Bohemian Protestants, rising in arms, marched to the very walls of Vienna.

The Bohemians rise.

When Matthias died in 1619, Ferdinand was elected Emperor. But almost in the same hour he heard that the Bohemians, disgusted with the spirit of his entire government, and specially enraged at a secret family compact, by which he had bequeathed their crown to Spain if he died without male heirs, had with prayers and many tears chosen for their king the Elector Palatine, a leader among the Protestants of Germany. So the struggle for a crown between Protestant Frederic and Romish Ferdinand was the outbreak of a wider war, of which the first year's fighting had been confined within the curve of the Bohemian mountains and the Danube.

Ferdinand and Frederic.

Already there existed in Europe two great antagonistic confederacies—the Evangelical Union of Protestants, and the Catholic League, which was supported by the Romish powers. The League naturally sided with Ferdinand, and the Union with Frederic. The former depended chiefly on Spain; the

The Union and the League.

latter looked for aid to England, the Dutch Republic, and all the Protestant princes of Germany.

The march of 50,000 Romanist troops under Maximilian, Duke of Bavaria, into the Bohemian territory, took Frederic somewhat by surprise. A battle was fought at the White Mountain near Prague, 1620, in which the elector was defeated and forced to flee by night from the city, leaving his crown behind him. Twenty-seven of the leading Protestants were sent to the scaffold, and thousands were driven into exile. Ferdinand tore to pieces with his own hand the "letter of majesty," a document by which Rodolph II. had been forced to grant a certain degree of religious freedom to the Bohemians. The beaten elector and would-be king fled to Brandenburg, and thence to Holland.

Defeat of Frederic.

The electors of Brandenburg and Saxony both stood aloof from their fellow-elector—the one afraid of Austria, the other cautious, selfish, and watchful of his own position. But there was a Bohemian soldier, Count Mansfeldt, who still dared to lift the sword against the generals of Ferdinand. Frederic came back with reviving hopes, for Mansfeldt was at the head of 20,000 men. The Bavarian general, Tilly, proving more than a match for the elector and his friends, drove him to take refuge once more in Holland.

Count Mansfeldt.

The kings of Northern Europe were then

Christian IV. takes the field.

greater men than are their descendants of the present day. Christian IV. of Denmark and Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden, who were both powerful princes, contended for the honor of leading the Protestant armies. The Swede was the Protestant hero of this great war; but the time had not yet come for his appearance on the changeful scene. The King of Denmark, nearer the battle-ground, and anxious to be beforehand with his royal neighbor and rival, took the field with a great army, as the leader of the Union and the champion of the Protestant cause.

Albert, Count Wallenstein.

Meanwhile the hero of the other side had arisen. When the Emperor Ferdinand was at his wit's end for men and money to meet this new confederacy, Albert, Count Wallenstein, a rich and distinguished Bohemian officer, proposed to raise an army at his own expense, saying that when once in the field they could easily support and pay themselves by plunder. The Emperor accepted the proposal, and in a short time Wallenstein, at the head of a motley force of 30,000 men, moved to the Elbe, 1626. The Danish war did not then last long. Christian IV. was defeated by Tilly at Lutter in Hanover; and in the following year

His great successes.

Wallenstein, whose rapid marches with a gigantic host, now swelled to 100,000 men, are the wonder of historians, drove him out of Germany, and, seizing all the peninsula of Denmark except one fort, shut him up in his

islands. We are told that the great freebooter, raging that he had no ships to cross the Belt, bombarded the sea with red-hot shot—a pitiful caricature of Xerxes' folly at the Hellespont. For his great service Wallenstein was rewarded with the duchies of Mecklenburg, and he also assumed the title of Generalissimo of the Emperor by land and sea.

The next step in his plan of action was to secure the command of the Baltic; and for this purpose he laid siege to Stralsund, a strong fort on the narrow strait which separates the island of Rugen from the mainland. His want of ships prevented him from blocking up the harbor, so that, when the Danish garrison was weakened by repeated assaults on the land side, reinforcements from Sweden found a ready entrance by sea, and defended the town until Wallenstein had to abandon the hopeless siege. This repulse led the Emperor to treat with Christian, who, by the inglorious peace of Lubeck, 1629, agreed to lay down the sword he had so feebly wielded.

He besieges Stralsund.

Richelieu's great aim was the humiliation of the House of Austria. In 1629, he found himself free for the accomplishment of this design, since the two leading objects of his domestic government had been attained. He had broken the power of the Huguenots at Rochelle, and he had tamed with iron hand the haughty noblesse of France. Already he had been deep in political intrigues against

Richelieu's intervention.

Ferdinand, and now, by the aid of his trusty Father Joseph, he gave a new turn to the war. Wallenstein, who had wrung million after million of dollars from the indignant Germans, was hated by them all for his arrogance and extortion. Foremost among a clamorous, complaining crowd was Maximilian of Bavaria, who found himself quite thrown into the shade by the victorious brigand. The emissary of Richelieu, making a handle of the Emperor's desire to please the German princes, artfully persuaded him to dismiss Wallenstein. Obeying without a murmur, though he was then at the head of 100,000 troops flushed with victory, the Bohemian soldier retired to Prague, where he lived with more than royal magnificence.

Wallenstein's life at Prague.

Schiller gives us a strange picture of his daring hero during this time of eclipse. A tall, thin, yellow-faced man, with short red hair, small glittering eyes, and a dark, forbidding brow, sat silent within a palace of silent splendor. The pen seldom left his fingers, for his despatches still flew over all Europe. The surrounding streets were blocked up, lest the noise of carriage-wheels should reach his ear. There, still and unsmiling, he waited for the time which the golden stars had promised—he was, like most men of his time, a devout believer in astrology—when he should be once more called to play a great part in history.

The crafty Richelieu, having thus weakened the cause of Ferdinand, rested not until he saw the Protestant armies marshalled by the greatest soldier of the age, Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden, who had indeed been long desirous of measuring his strength with the Emperor. There is, in all the range of history, no character finer than that of Gustavus, the hero of this war. Brave himself, he kindled like fire of courage in his soldiers' hearts; religious himself, he took care that, morning and evening, every regiment gathered round its chaplain in a ring for prayer; severe upon sin, yet ever tempering justice with mercy, he was at once loved and feared by his subjects and his soldiers.

Gustavus Adolphus.

On the 20th of May, 1630, Gustavus, having assembled the States at Stockholm, took in his arms his little Christina, only four years old, and showed her to his people as their future sovereign. His farewell was uttered with broken voice, and heard with many tears. A month later, he landed on the island of Rugen in Pomerania with 15,000 men. At first all that was done in Vienna was to sneer at the Snow King, who, as the wits said, would surely melt as he marched southward. But when this same Snow King, seizing Stettin, overran all Pomerania, it was time to act. Tilly was made General-in-Chief of the Austrian armies. Still the career of the victorious Swedes went on. Strengthened by an

The Snow King.

alliance with France, they took Frankfort, and all that Tilly could do in revenge was to wreak his rage upon the helpless population of Magdeburg. This town, which was then a great Protestant stronghold, stands on the Elbe. Enraged at the gallant defence of the place, this ugly, big-whiskered dwarf, whose green doublet, and little cocked hat with a red feather hanging down his back, must have made him cut a rather remarkable figure, let slip his dogs of war upon the city, which he took by storm, before the Swedes could come to its relief. The horrors of the sack of Magdeburg are unspeakable. Beautiful girls and wrinkled grandames, strong men and helpless infants were shot and stabbed and thrown for amusement into the flames of the burning streets. The pavement was slippery with the blood of 30,000 dead.

Sack at Magdeburg

Gustavus Adolphus, forcing the selfish Elector of Saxony to join him, marched upon Leipsic, which had opened its gates to Tilly. And then there was a great battle, which secured the freedom of Germany (1631). Tilly, without much difficulty, routed the Saxons, who fought apart from the Swedes. Seven times Pappenheim, the leader of the Austrian cavalry, dashed with his heavy cuirassiers upon the lines of Swedish blue-coats; but every time the sweeping wave recoiled in broken foam. Having thus repulsed Pappenheim, the royal Swede attacked the troops of

Battle of Leipsic.

Tilly, who had broken the Saxon wing, and, seizing the heights where their cannon were planted, he turned their own guns upon them. This decided the day. Tilly fled, bleeding and defeated; and Gustavus knelt among the slain and wounded to thank God for his victory. Seven thousand of the Austrian army lay dead. Their camp, all their cannon, and more than a hundred colors fell into the hands of the victors.

The Swedes' triumphant progress.

Gustavus, then penetrating central Germany, took Frankfort on his way, and crossed the Rhine to besiege Mentz. The Spanish troops, who held this town, surrendered on the fourth day. The Swedish King thus gained the command of the Rhine, much to the alarm of Louis XIII., and even of Richelieu, who thought that the royal victor would surely push on to join the Huguenots, and overturn the Romish faith in France. But soon, turning southeast, Gustavus pressed on to the Lech, a tributary of the Danube. Tilly, having broken down all the bridges, defended the passage of the stream until he was mortally wounded by a cannon-ball, which shattered his leg. Then, breaking up his camp, he retreated to die. The Swedes, at once overrunning Bavaria, entered Munich in triumph. Already their Saxon allies were masters of Prague.

Wallenstein recalled.

Ferdinand had then no resource but to recall Wallenstein, who, when he heard of these

brilliant victories won by Gustavus, knew with secret joy that his star was rising once more. Coming forth from his retreat, by the magic of his name and his splendid promises, he raised in three months a fine force of 40,000 men. But of these he would accept the command only on condition that he should hold unlimited power over all the armies of Austria and Spain, and that no commission or pension should be granted by Ferdinand without his approval. To these demands, insolent and imperious though they were, the distressed Emperor was forced to yield. Wallenstein took the field and drove the Saxons out of Bohemia. Then uniting his forces with those of the Elector Maximilian, he found himself at the head of 60,000 veteran soldiers, —an army much larger than that marching under the banners of Gustavus. The Swede shut himself up in Nuremberg. There for eleven weeks the two armies lay in strongly fortified camps, watching each other, and wasting away with hunger and disease. In vain Gustavus offered battle; and on one occasion he made a furious attack upon the camp of Wallenstein, which, however, was repulsed. At last, weary of doing nothing, both armies broke up their camps, to meet soon upon a memorable battlefield.

His arrogant demands.

In vain Gustavus offers battle.

Wallenstein moved toward Dresden. Gustavus followed his march with rapid steps. On a plain near Lutzen, a village twelve miles

southwest of Leipsic, the imperial general awaited his royal foe (November 6, 1632). A fog delayed the attack until eleven o'clock. Gustavus went to battle with the music of Luther's noble hymn on his lips. The Swedish infantry took a battery, whose guns had galled them severely; but the flying imperialists, rallied by the stern voice of Wallenstein, turned and drove them back in confusion. Gustavus, who had been victorious on the right, galloping like lightning to their aid, rode too near the enemy's lines. A bullet broke his arm, another pierced his back,—he fell riddled with balls, and his riderless horse, dripping with blood, carried the sad news over the field. The Swedes, roused to fury, grew careless of danger or death. In spite of the cool daring of Wallenstein, whose cloak was torn with many bullets, and the dashing valor of Pappenheim, who was shot to the heart at the head of his dragoons, the troops of the Emperor gave way and fled. It was the "crowning mercy" of the Protestant cause; but there was no joy in that victory, for Gustavus Adolphus was dead.

Battle of Lutzen.

Death of Gustavus.

To quote the eloquent words of Schiller—"With the fall of their great leader, it is true, there was reason to apprehend the ruin of his party; but to that Power which governs the world the loss of no single man can be irreparable. Two great statesmen, Oxenstiern in Germany, and Richelieu in France, took the

Oxenstiern.

guidance of the helm of war as it dropped from his hands; destiny pursued its relentless course over his tomb, and the flame of war blazed for sixteen years longer over the ashes of the departed hero."

But with the death of Gustavus nearly all interest fades from the story of the war. At once Oxenstiern, the chancellor and dear friend of the dead King, being then in Germany, hastened to the camp, and was soon chosen head of the Protestant confederacy by an assembly of princes meeting at Heilbronn. The Swedes and Germans still kept the field. Ratisbon was taken by the Protestants; but the war degenerated into a succession of skirmishes, and pitched battles became very rare.

Assassination of Wallenstein.

Wallenstein, entering into secret correspondence with the Germans, grew inactive, was deserted by his army, and in February, 1634, being then fifty years of age, was assassinated in the castle of Eger. The murderers were richly rewarded by the Emperor.

France in the field.

When the Swedes, who were now fighting, not for the Empire of Germany, but for their very existence, suffered a severe defeat at Nördlingen in Suabia (August, 1634), Oxenstiern, unable to get money or aid of any sort from the German States, threw his cause upon the compassion of France. Richelieu, whom we have already beheld working behind the scenes, and whose covetous eye had long been

fixed on Alsace, as a means of extending the French frontier to the Rhine, gladly obeyed the summons. Two fleets were fitted out, and six French armies took the field. In aid of the Protestants the Cardinal undertook to cripple the power of Spain, whose alliance formed the main prop of the Emperor's cause. In the Netherlands, in Italy, and in the Valteline his soldiers fought the Spaniards; and on the Rhine, siding with the Swedes and Germans, they met the troops of the Emperor.

Ferdinand died in 1637, but the war kindled by his tyranny still desolated Europe. Many gallant leaders rose to fill the place of Gustavus; and of these perhaps the best was Bernard of Weimar, who died of plague in 1639 at Neuburg on the Rhine. Banner and Torstenson, who was once the page of Gustavus, led the Swedish armies toward the close of the war. After the death of Richelieu the French sustained two signal defeats—in 1643 at Düttlingen, and in 1644 at Friburg.

Bernard of Weimar.

The peace of Westphalia, signed at Munster in 1648, closed this eventful war. The leading terms of this celebrated treaty, which is looked upon as having laid the groundwork of our modern Europe, were—1. That France should retain Metz, Toul, Verdun, and the whole of Alsace except Strasburg and a few other cities; receiving, instead of these, two fortresses—Breisach and Philippsburg, which

Peace of Westphalia

were regarded as the keys of Upper Germany. 2. That Holland should be a free state, independent alike of Spain and of the Empire. 3. That the Swiss Cantons should be free. 4. That Sweden, receiving Stralsund, Wismar, and other important posts on the Baltic, should also be paid five millions of dollars, as indemnification for the expenses of the war.

Germany's wretched condition.

Thus Germany lost for a time the free navigation of the Rhine and many of her richest provinces. The glorious old empire dwindled away to a mere shadow of its former greatness. The leading princes soon made themselves wholly independent; and, if the petty states still clung to their Emperor, it was only that he might shelter them from the inroads of their more powerful neighbors. The social condition of Germany after the war was utterly wretched. Scarcely one-third of her old population crouched in the poverty-stricken land, whence art and science seemed to have fled forever, where heaps of ashes marked the site of once busy towns, and where sandy deserts, stretching for leagues, filled the place of golden corn-fields.

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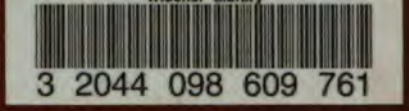
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